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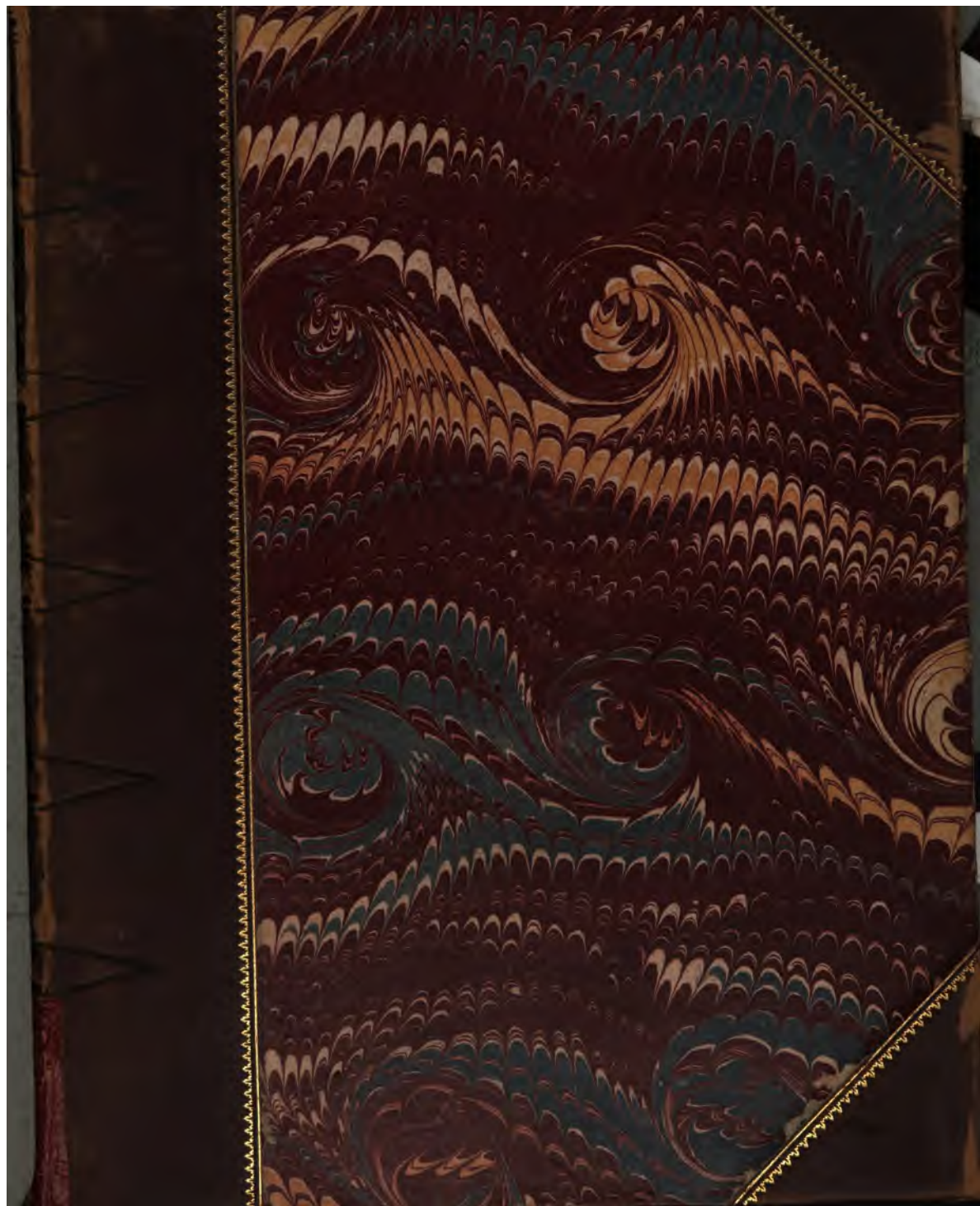
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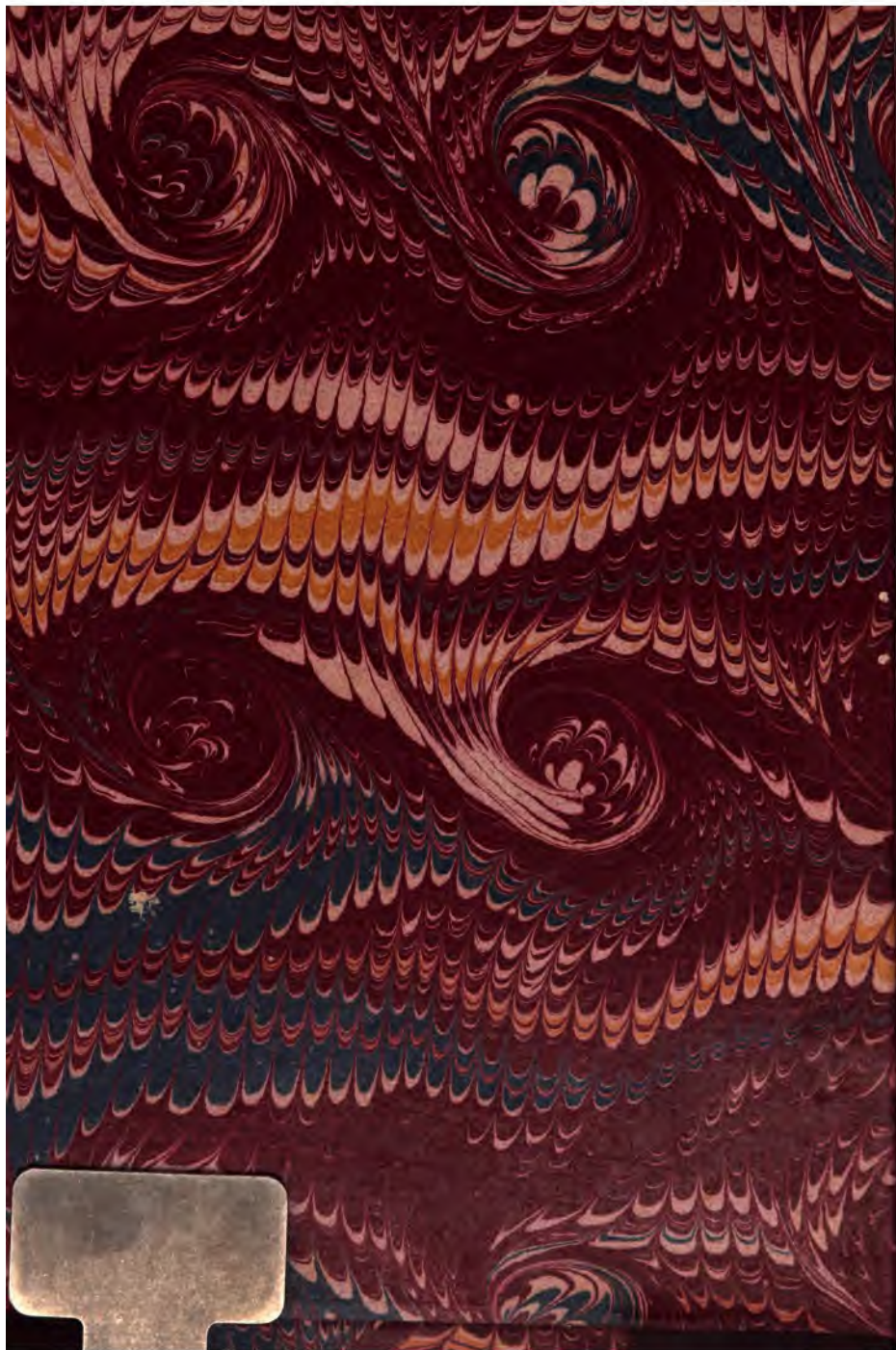
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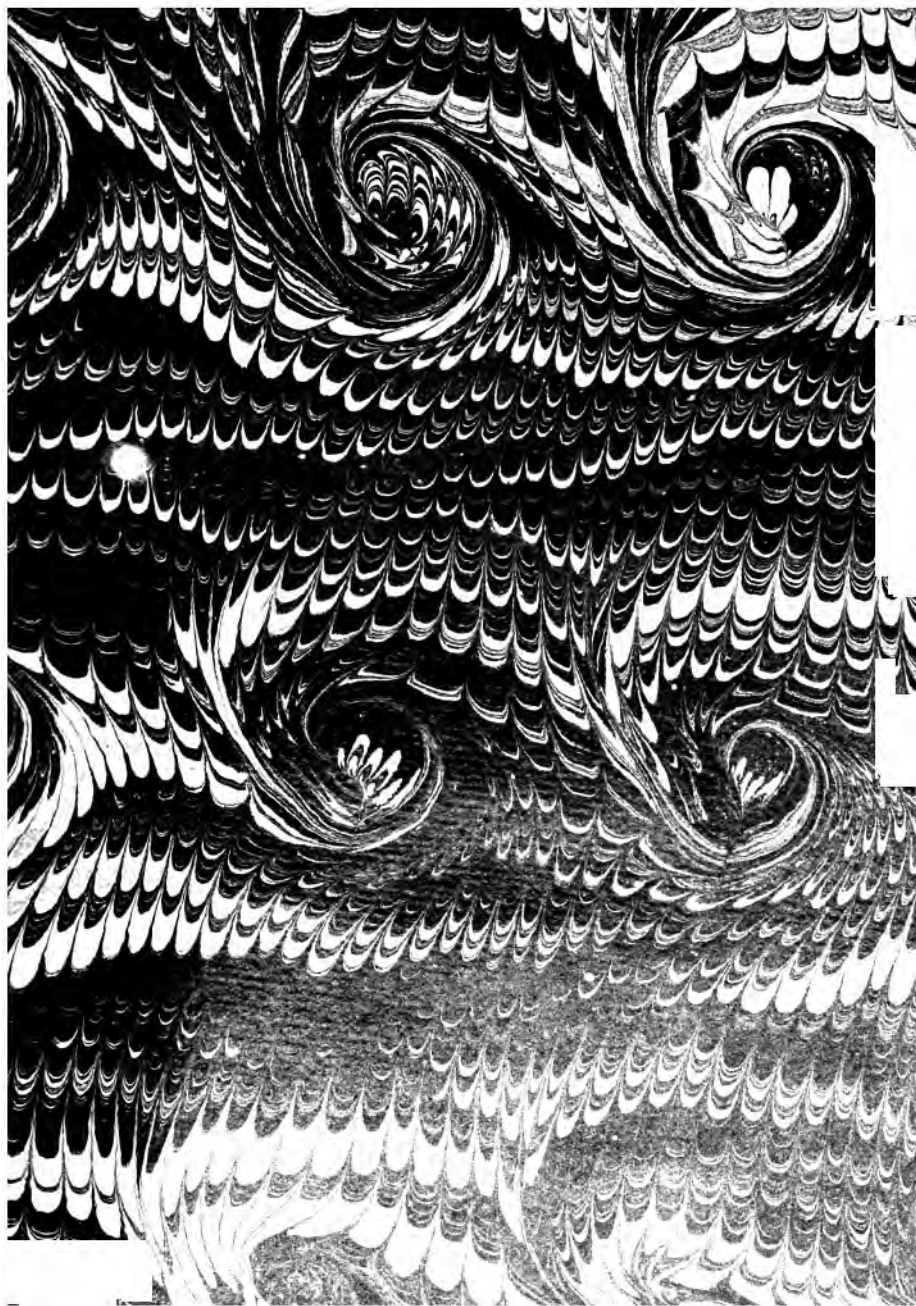
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10/6

A
True and Faithful
RELATION
OF THE
SUFFERINGS

Of the REVEREND and LEARNED,
M^R. ALEXANDER SHIELDS,
MINISTER of the GOSPEL

Written with his own Hand.

Containing an ACCOUNT of his Examinations and Imprisonment at LONDON; His being sent down to SCOTLAND. His Examinations before the PRIVY COUNCIL, JUSTICIARY, LORDS of the ARTICLES, &c. His Disputations with the BISHOPS, and others: With large and pertinent OBSERVATIONS and REFLECTIONS upon all the Material Passages of these Trials, Examinations and Disputations.

Together With
A large and Elaborate Defence of the Doctrine of RESISTANCE, or DEFENSIVE ARMS, of the APOLOGITICAL DECLARATION, and other HEADS of SUFFERING: As likewise a clear and full Confutation of the OATH of ABJURATION.

Never before Published.

Plalm LXII. 4. *They only consult to cast him down from his Excellency; They delight in Lies: They bless with their Mouth, but they curse inwardly. Selah. Hostis callidus, tarda ad Mortem Supplicia conquirens, Animas cupiebat Christianorum jugulare, non Corpora.* Hieronymus in Decium Imperat.

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A N

IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

O F

All Passages relating to my Sufferings, Trials and Examinations, from the Beginning of my Imprisonment.

IT may seem impertinent for me, to put Pen to Paper upon such a Subject ; to make any Record, or give any Representation of my own Afflictions, which have been so mean and insignificant, that they are not worth the mentioning, and so mixed with Blots and Blemishes of Faintings and Follies; not only unsuitable, but dishonourable to the Excellency of the Cause, that my Afflictions have been stated upon, that it may be challenged, as a nauseating Officiousness, to blur Paper thereupon; And the Passages have been so many and various, and my *Examinations, Conferences, Trials*, so prolix and tedious, and that after the Intervention of so long Time since they were past, that to offer an accurate Account of them, might incur either the Censure, or Suspicion of Prevarication or Disingenuity: especially from a Man of my Imperfections, known to be rude and unready in *Extemporary Answers*, and of a Memory not so exact and retentive of Passages, as such an Account would import and require: But considering, the Intent of this Relation, is not to make it publick (which could not be interpreted a being my own Herauld, to captate Applause, but rather a blockish blurring of my own Blots) but only as a *Memorandum* for my self, and an *Information* to my Intimates, concerned to know what hath past in the Tract of my Trials, that they may sympathise with me, and comfort me by their Approbation of what is Right,

and by their tender Restorings with the Spirit of Meekness, from what Faintings and Follies, and unfaithful Feebleness, have been discovered in them. And seeing they have been in part acquainted with many of these little Transactions, in Parcels, by the Minuts I drew of all occurring Passages, immediatly after their falling out ; I thought it would not be altogether ungrateful to them, as it would be very useful for me, to put them together in one Piece, that they might be seen with one Prospect. Wherein, however unpleasant it may be, I shall endeavour to shew, so much of impartial Ingenuity, as that the Relation of these Passages shall appear to be rather an humble and open-hearted Confession, than any studied Apology. For to justify all Things that have escaped me, I cannot, and to palliate them I will not. The true and genuine Representation of Matters of Fact, is that which I aim at.

The Day of my first Apprehension, and beginning of this sad Tentation, was upon the 11th of *January* this present Year 1685, where being in *London*, at a Meeting for the Worship of God ; I was taken with many others, by the *City Marshal*. That Morning, I remember, as I was coming over *Tower-hil*, toward the House where our Meeting was appointed, I had a strong Impression, with irresistable Violence suggested to me, which I endeavoured to check and divert, as an idle vain Thought, but I could not, to wit, That I should be a Prisoner that Day ; and further, that every Step I was going was a Motion and Progress to another Period, than as yet hath come to pass ; However within two Hours thereafter, I was a Prisoner. I do not mention this, as a thing to be much laid Weight on ; But only I cannot but reflect on it, as a Warning to me of what followed ; of which I have had severals very significant and remarkable to me, since I was engaged into this Lot. I was taken very surprisngly, and without our Fear, or Expectation of any such thing : For that Day we had more Caution than ordinary, which made us more secure ; having two Men abroad, to watch and attend the Motion of the Guards of Souldiers in several Places of the City ; one of which observing a Party of them moving, came running to acquaint us, but before he could come to the Door of the House, where we were met, he found the Marshal with two Men knocking at it, and so durst not approach nearer. The Marshal having had Intelligence of our Meeting, either by his own Observation, or the treacherous and invidious Information of Neighbours, subtilly did knock at the Door as a Friend ; and the Master of the House taking him for one of our Watches, opened to him ; who forthwith came rushing up Stairs, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and his Men at his Back, crying and commanding in the King's Name, That we should render our selves Prisoners. I was standing upon the
the

the Stairs in the Entry into two Chambers, lecturing upon *Gen. 49. 21. Naphtali is a Hind let loose, he giveth goodly Words, &c.* On which I was led to speak on the Excellency of the Blessing of *Liberty*, the Extent of *Christian Liberty*, the Preferableness of *Spiritual Liberty* beyond temporal Freedom: A Subject that I was very unfit to speak on; and therefore the LORD saw it good to interrupt me, and send me to School to learn it better since; I was a great Mis-improver of Liberty, when I had it; and therefore since, I have been made to prize it more by the Want of it, and to understand, by some Experience the Excellency of that more lovely *Liberty of the Spirit*.

But to return, I being the first Man in the way of the *Marshal's* Violent Irruption, and thinking my self most concerned to answer; gave a Reply to this Effect: *What King do you mean, by whose Authority you disturb the Peaceable Ordinances of CHRIST? Sir, you dishonour your King, in making him an Enemy to the Worship of GOD!* At which Words the Russian laid hands on me, and violently thrust me in among the People; telling me, *He had other Business than to stand up prating with me!* We were very stupidly insatuate and deficient in our Duty, that we did not make a Break, and run him Down-stairs, as we were in a Capacity to do it against three Men, and as I moved it to the People: But the Demur was, that we thought there was surely a Party of the Guards down-stairs waiting to assist him. Thus were we kept Prisoners by three Men, being in Number about sixty Men and Women; who for the most-part (as I was often laying it home to them as a Duty) were resolutely determined never to be taken, as long as they were in any Capacity to resist. *But who hath spoken, and it shall come to pass, if the LORD hath not appointed it?* However, We saw the Guards standing before the Door, to carry us away; and we were all brought out one-by-one, and carried to *Guildhall*, except those that hid themselves in the House, and some that escaped by the Way. We were kept about two or three hours in *Guildhall*; where some escaped, by giving a little Money to the *Marshal's* Men: And I was urged to do the like; but I had no Clearness in it, thinking it a dishonourable Composition, unsuitable to the Simplicity of Sufferers, and a base encouraging of them in their wicked Trade, many of these Rascals having no other Livelihood. Thereafter we were conducted by a Guard to the Lord Mayor's Lodgings: And by the Way, seeing one before me make a clear Escape, by running, I took the next Opportunity at the turning of a Street, to run: But though formerly I was well acquainted with that Street, yet then I did not consider what Place of the City I was in, but run foreward streight to the Lord Mayor's Gates, and there, by his Officers standing in the Street, I was again apprehend-

ed; and beaten, and abused very rudely, the Rabble of on-Lookers applauding their Cruelty, in so much, that one standing by, as they were leading me by the Arms, said most bitterly, *Have you got him? You should have put your Knife in his Guts.* So we were all brought in before the Lord Mayor, and examined. All were strictly and particularly interrogate about the Preacher, *who he was? And what was his Name? And if he was present?* But no satisfactory Information given, though one, that was immediatly examined before my self, told he was a *Scots Man*, and gave all the Marks he could of his Habite, and Stature, &c. and if he had looked about, he would have discovered me, standing just at his Back: Yet when it came to me, they never asked a Word about the Preacher: So that it was not known then, nor a pretty while after my Imprisonment; which by holy Providence did some way contribute to my Transportation to *Scotland*: For if it had been known, that I was the Preacher, I should have expected the ordinary *Mittimus* and Lot of Preachers, which should have been only Imprisonment, for some Time in *England*; but the LORD had a Mind, to make all things work together for screwing up my Sufferings and Tentations to a greater Height.

The Account of my Examination before the Lord Mayor, is scarce worth the Inserting here; Yet because I would omit nothing, the Purport of it was as follows. The first Question was, *What is your Business here?* I Answered, I cannot tell. Next, *What was you doing in that Place where you was taken?* Answer, We were at the Worship of GOD: At which they said nothing, but made Mouths at me. Then my Name was asked, and my Lodging: I told them. Then, *what was my Trade?* I Answered, I have no Trade. Said the Lord Mayor, *How do you Live then?* I Answered, as others that have no Trade. What? said he, *are you a Gentleman?* I Answered, such as you see, I have no great Estate. They urged, *how do you live then?* I Answered. GOD provides, I am not very Troublesome with my Living. Nay, said the Mayor, *He is a Vagabond, he must be taken Notice of.* I Answered, I am no Vagabond, your Lordship knows very well, in this Populous City, there are many that have no Trade; Some are Servants, some have Served their Time and are Vacant, some do expect to be put in some way of Living; I am a Sojourner here only, and do want an Employ for the present. At which he was Angry, and said, *he must be a Jesuite, search him.* So I was searched; and when they found my Bible in my Pocket, they observed, it wanted the Book of *Common Prayer* at the beginning: At which I said, what should it do there? I Warrant, said some of them, he is a great Rogue. So they spent many Threatnings and Upbraidings upon me. At length the Lord Mayor said, *Well, I will take care, how you shall live in Time coming,* I will
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send you to a Place, where you shall get a Livelyhood : I thanked his Lordship. *I will send you to Bridewell*, said he ; I cannot help it, said I ; and so was removed unto another ~~Table~~, where all as they were Examined, were set.

After I was set down, I began to reflect on the Threatnings, which were very odious to me ; not so much, because of the Afflictions I might expect in that Place, as, because I looked upon it as Dishonourable to my Station, to be put in among Thieves, Rogues, Vagabonds and Boys ; who are put to Servile Work, and Punished by Whipping, when they do not perform their Task : But this was my Pride, that I disdained a shameful Cross, not reckoning it my Glory and Joy, with the Apostles, *to suffer shame for his Name* ; And also my Folly, if it had been so ordered, that I had been sent there, I might have expected a more favourable Lot, and more easy outgate. Yet for the Time, the Aspect of it was so odious, that I resolved, I would rather discover my self to be the Preacher to prevent it, come of it what would. But it never came to that ; for after all were Examined, Bail was offered and admitted, to Answer at next Court at *Guild-hall*, the Third Day thereafter, and my Friends were very Urgent on me to accept of it : I refused it Three several Times, scrupling to enter into any Transactions with them, being Jealous of some Insnaring Impositions, and several other Scruples I had, and Objections against it, at that mean Time ; Yet through their Importunity, and the Prevalency of a strong Tentation, suggesting to me what Inconveniencies would follow on my refusal, how I should be reputed a Singular Fool, Precipitating my own Sufferings, after such an unusual and unexamplary manner, and considering that they knew my Quarters, and if I were discovered to be the Preacher (as I thought surely by this time by so many Inquiries after it, could not be concealed) they would send and search my Chamber, and there they might find some Books and Papers of Dangerous consequence to me : At length, after a Friend came again the fourth Time, and urged me to accept of Bail, saying, if I would only Answer to my Name, and consent to his Engagement, nothing more would be required, I condescended ; and when my Name was called upon, I Answered ; And my Bail presenting me, and offering to be Bail for me, the *Mayor* said, I was the Impudentest Rogue among them all : For said he, he will not so much as give an account of his Trade, or how he lives : Lives ! said my Bail, cunningly Smiling, I will tell your Lordship, how he Lives, he is a poor Shabby Boy, good for nothing, he comes to my House, sometimes to see a Sister, and I give him a little Victuals now and then, and he goes at other Times to others, and gets some, and that's the way he lives. I wondered at his confident

Roving

Roving, he told me afterwards he was Playing by Equivocations. The Mayor said nothing, but that he believed that was the thing made me so Confident. So he ordered Bail to be accepted for me, and the security drawn up, under the pain of Thirty Pounds Sterling, for my Appearance at *Guild-hall*, to Answer thereat, at that Court, the Day foreſaid, which my Hand ſubſcribed. I was very Jealous there was ſomething of the Good Behaviour (as they call it) to be engaged in it, which indeed I cannot tell but there was. But often it was asked me, if I conſented to it? I asked, to what? my Bail fearing my Scrupuloſity and Inquiſitivenefs ſhould break all, Answered me roughly; This is only to Answer againſt *Wednesday*; Yes, ſaid I, when you will, and ſo they let me go. But when I came Home and reflected upon that Days Tranſactions, and how upon my firſt Entry, upon Sufferings, I miſcarried ſo ſilly; I cannot expreſs how I was Tortured with the Thoughts of it; Not only becauſe it was great weakneſs ſo prejudicial to me, in preventing a more favourable Sentence I might have expected then, than that which I met with afterwards; but becauſe I had no Peace in it, conſidering how it was a Voluntary ſubjecting my ſelf to their Impoſitions, a willing acknowledging of, and binding my ſelf over to their packed perverſe and Law-perverting Judicatures, a Spontaneous conſenting to their Miſchiefs framed into a Law, and Enacted under the Notion of a Law, when I knew the frame of it, and the Form of it, and what I might expect ſhould be the Effect of it againſt my ſelf; Yea, a diſhonourable and Cowardly ſhifting and putting off the preſent Opportunity of a Teſtimony, and confeſſing an unreadineſs to render a Reaſon for it, as if I had been to ſeek for Defences, and durſt not avouch the Duty I was taken about, but behoved to admit a Deference to another Day: And beſides, that I had fooliſhly involved my ſelf into the Incumbrance of of a doubtful Suſpence about the Event: Whereas if I had kept at my firſt Reſolution aloſt from ſuch Bargains, I might have known the outcomeſt I had to fear or hope from Men. Theſe things were very perplexing and vexing to my Mind, during the Interval of theſe Three Days, I went and Conſulted many, who I thought would be moſt Friendly and Faithful in their Advice to me; but generally I found them averſe from my Appearance, perſwading me to decline it by many Arguments taken from the Penalty, being the *Alternative* of the Bond, and that I might be free by paying the Penalty which they offered to advance. But being once engaged I durſt not retract, notwithstanding of all their inſinuations. Their Arguments of the Penalty of the Bond, it being the *Alternative* Condition thereof, were not ſatisfactory to me: For I conſidered, that *neither* is ſuch a Bond *Alternative*, for then would it have been offered *to my Choice*, whether I would appear on ſuch a Day, or pay ſuch a Sum

of Money ? then I might have been free to make a Choice ; nor was their Stipulation, nor my Promise *Alternative*, but plain and simple, obliging my self positively to that Appearance and subjecting my self to the Penalty, as the Punishment of the Breach of that Obligation, in case I broke it : I thought that the Fancy of eluding the Bond by paying the Penalty, would quite enervate all Security among Men in their mutual Compacts of that Nature, and under that Pretence they might give a satisfactory Compliance to the most wicked imposed Obligation imaginable, or with a reserved intention duly to pay the imposed Penalty ; which Reservations I thought so far from being suitable to that Christian Simplicity the Gospel requires, that I judged it would not answer that Moral Honesty, that our Concern in the Good of Humane Society calls for. I had Reflections also on that word *Psal. 15. 4.* holding forth this as one Qualification requisite for the Expectants of Heaven, *though they swear to their own Hurt, they will not change it ;* And consequently, if they bind themselves by a Promise, which a Christian should be no less tender of than of his Oath : Upon these and the like Considerations I determined to keep the Dyet.

Accordingly when the Day came, *January 14, 1685.* I came to *Guild-Hall*, and was there waiting several Hours till they should fall upon the Business of our Meeting, and was as really Determined to Answer that Day, as ever I designed any thing ; but the LORD had not appointed it, but frustrated my Intention Provisionally, for that Day ; For being under the Inconveniency of some Friends preposterous observing of me, and fearing lest thereby I should be more noticed by the Court ; and finding them so occupied otherwise, that I might have Time enough to go out and refresh my self ; I tarried but a very little while, and in the mean Time of my Absence I was called, and none answering for me, my Bond was Forefaulted ! Which Disappointment did very much commove me, for fear of being reproached by my Enemies, mistaken by my Friends, and misconstrued by my Bail, or Cautioner ; And therefore as soon as I understood, that my Name had been called upon in my Absence, I went through the whole Crowd in the House several Times to seek him, and not finding him, I went straight to his House but could not meet with him : Only I saw his Wife, and told her the Case, who was very displeased with it, and said, *Alas ! why did you so ? you have exceedingly wronged our Family ;* which went as a Nail to my Heart ; so that I was confounded, and could answer nothing, nor could I be resolved what to do, whether to offer my self to the Court (but that I thought preposterous and ugly to own my self their Legal Prisoner) or to my Bail, but I could not find him. In this Perplexity I went Home
much

much disquieted, and continued some Days undetermined, what Course to fall upon, whether to rest in that Providential Issue, and endeavour to satisfy my Bail, and bear him harmless, by paying the Sum, or to move further in it, there being yet another Day of Court to come before the Sessions Adjournment, which was to be seven Days thereafter: But before that Day came, I was necessitated to a Resolution, which was the Commencement of my Sufferings. For, my Bail consulting his own Security, and fearing lest his Name coming in question, he should suffer loss, and be further involved into Troubles, if he should be more noticed, he being a *Dissenter* from the Church of England; to prevent this, made some indiscreet haste to my detriment, driving furiously for a Composition for his Forefeited Bond, to compass which he applied himself to the Lord Mayor and Clerks, &c. who bade him produce me: This I thought very much tending to my Reproach. My Friends offered him many Securities to bear him harmless, if he would desist; yea, a Bond was offered to him for Ten Pounds more, if he would sit still and not move further in it; he would not, but still pressed for ready Money to pay the Sum, that his Goods might not be harmed for it, though it was a preparing, and all imaginable Security offered to ease him of that Burden, which did determine me to a Resolution that neither he nor they should be troubled with it. It seemed an intolerable Burden to me to be burdensome to them; And to enrich my Enemies with the Spoil of my Friends, upon the account of the Forefeiture of my Promise, seemed such a dishonest and dishonourable thing to me, that upon Deliberation, I determined to prevent both my Friends Charges, my Bail's paying, and my Exactors receiving any Money upon such an Account; So that I thought my self Stated in such Circumstances, as that Two Evils were offered to my Choice unavoidably; either a Prison under the Reproach of Folly, or Liberty under the Repute of Fraudulency. The first I thought more eligible: For I thought CHRIST's Cross, even with Reproaches, is alwise a better Choice, than the World's Ease purchased at any Price, which is a Hire for CHRIST's Enemies: So I resolved upon an Appearance *Tuesday* next, which I was somewhat encouraged unto, by a Friend's interposure and undertaking to interceed for me with the Lord Mayor, having great interest in him; Who accordingly went to him and pre-engaged him into a Promise of Favour. But when all came to all, I found by Experience, that Creature's Favour is either ensnaring or very deceitful; But Providence had a special overruling Hand in it, beyond his Purpose, and besides his intention: For I am apt to have so much Charity for him as to think if he had got his Will, I should not have been a Prisoner for that Day; However he gave many

many fair Promises to be tender of me, and that he would consult both the Liberty of my Person, and safety of my Conscience: For my Friend precautioned him, that he would find me very precise and Sticking in Matters of Conscience: He said he would do well enough for that, and bid me come along with him that Morning before the Court, unto his Lodging, that he might speak with me; and further, did express great indignation at my Bail, for his foolishness and precipitancy in over-driving the Business; For said he, if he had let it alone, it might have lain dormant all the Time of my *Mayoralty*, and, for ought I know, seven *Mayors* Times after me; For seldom or never do we take notice of such things, but when they are put in our Heads officiously.

When the Day came, *January 20th* in the Morning, I appointed with my Friend abovementioned, to have prevented my Publick Appearance at Court, by Speaking with the Lord *Mayor* in private; but he had gone to Court before we came, and I durst not then draw back; when I thought the LORD was leading me on; so we went together to *Guild-hall*: And when all the Names were called on, that had been referred to that Day's Discussion, I answered to mine: And being Questioned, why I did not Answer the Day before? I Answered, That I had been there Attending several Hours, and had resolved to Answer, but finding the Court imployed about Business, that would take up some Time, I took a short Turn out, for some Refreshment, thinking to return before it should come to my Business; But my Name was in the mean time called upon, and I could not find my Bail to introduce me; And therefore now I am come to relieve him of his Bond. Thereafter my Indictment was Read, importing a Grievous Charge, *That I, with others, had, upon the 11th of January in the Tear of our Sovereign Lord the King, Charles the 2d. King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, the Thirty Sixth, in London, in the Paroch of St. Vidastus alias Fosters, in Ward of Farringdon, with Force and Arms, Riotously, Unlawfully and Tumultuously Assembled and Met together, to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, under Colour and Pretext of the Exercise of Religion, after another manner, than according to the Liturgy and Use of the Church of England, in a Man's Mansionable House, in Gutter Lane, in open Contempt of our Sovereign Lord the King, His Laws, Crown and Dignity?* Then after the usual Form, the Question was put to me, *Guilty or not Guilty*: I Answered, *not Guilty*. Then Legal Probation should have been led against me; but this they did not Trouble themselves with at this Time, but most Arbitrarily and Illegally they proceeded against me, as they had done the other Day, with my Fellow Prisoners; especially by means of the Recorder's being there, a most Ingrained Enemy to our Cause, and a Hater of our Nation; who the former Court Day, and

then also, did most Virulently Invsigh against us, especially who were *Scotch-men*, saying, *That we were most Pestilent and Intolerable, that the Severity of our Laws made us flee our Country, for there they could Extort by Torture any thing, and had Laws to Extort a Man's Thoughts, and then Hang him for them, when discovered; but now, said he, they are come to abuse our Mild Laws, they have no Paralel, said he, for Wicked Principles, and Practices; Murders and Rebellions!* His Presence did much Prejudge me, for I had expected to have been more Favourably handled by the Lord Mayor: And the Reflection on his former Insolency did confound me with fear and Indignation at him, which made my Talk to him more short and confused, and not so pleasing. After I answered *not Guilty*, he asked what Country Man I was? I might have evaded a direct Answer: But Remembering what an Enemy he was to that Nation, my Indignation did expel my fear, and made me disdain to deny or decline the avouching of it: I Answered therefore somewhat boldly, *I am a Scotch-Man Born and Bred.* Then he stood up, being sitting before, and I saw Fury and Revenge in his Face: He asked then Imperiously, *will you take the Oath of Allegiance?* I was agoing to shapen an Answer, but pausing a little, I was prevented by another Question from the Lord Mayor, which I took as an Insinuation of his Favour, and his unwillingness to have me Premunir'd, by propounding a more plain and easie Question, not so Dangerous; *willy-u (said he) engage never to go to a Meeting again?* I Answered, No, I will not engage any such thing. Go take him away (*said he*) to Prison; but I was not let go so. The Recorder, to Inveigle me further, and to shew his Venom, began to urge me with a great many Impertinent Questions, relating to *Scotch* Matters, the first Time that ever such things were heard urged in open Court in England; which made the very By-standers to hiss at the Absurdity and Ridiculousness of them: *Where was you (said he) in the Time of Bothwel-Bridge-Rebellion?* I was in Scotland, said I. *Was you there?* said he, that must be proved, said I. But, said he, *what do you think? was it Rebellion?* I am not to give an Account of my Thoughts, said I. He urged further, if I owned a Declaration disowning the King, and Asserting Murdering Principles? And further, if I approved of the late Bishop of St. Andrew's Slaughter? And if I thought it was Murder? I Answered, I came not here to Answer such Questions, but to Answer to my Indictment, I have heard it read, there is not a Word of these things in it: I will Answer to nothing Extraneous to my Charge. Then it was ordered, I should be removed and taken to Prison; And furthwith I was taken to Newgate, without any *Mittimus* at all, or so much as any express Order of Court, which Prison I should be committed to. By the Way I could have escaped,

scaped, being Guarded only with one common Officer, and rather cheated into it by his fair Words, than carried by his Authority or Power : For I told him by the Way, That he had no Orders to carry me to any particular Prison, but only keep me in Custody, and if he would take upon him to lead me into any Prison, I would not obey him ; he promised he would not, but only take me into a Cellar, where I might expect my Friend would come to me ; and told me, I needed not doubt but it would be otherways ordered, and that hasty Command (as is usual, said he) would be retracted. I simply went along with him, and was led in an unknown Way, freight to *Newgate* : Where going into the Lower Cellar, he delivered me to the Keepers, and said, I was committed a Prisoner : And so was carried into the *Masters-Commons-side* (as it is called) into the other Room where other seven of my Country-men and Fellow Prisoners, taken at the same Meeting, were.

After I had composed my self a little among my Fellow Prisoners, I told them how I was Cheated ; and was much troubled with Reflections on my stupid Silliness, and Foolish Facility, in being brought hither so easily and Ignorantly by one Man : And considering I was no legal Prisoner, even according to their own Law ; which provides, That if any Man be carried to Prison, without an express Order, Signifying the Cause and Continuance, and Place &c. of their Commitment, he may by Law demand his Liberty, and recover 5 *Lib. Sterl.* for every Hour of his false Imprisonment : And thinking that possibly I could not be so much Remark'd at my first in-coming, but that I might make a slip undiscovered ; I essay'd to take the opportunity of a Friend, a Visitor, his going out, to go along with him. But when I came to the Door, I was stopp'd : And when I demanded my Liberty, and asked for the Keeper's Orders, and bid him keep me upon his Peril, for he might come to Answer for it. But those Threats did not move him ; And so I returned to my Comrads, who were very Solicitous about the issue of the Attempt ; and was brought to some Composure of Mind, and to Possess my Soul in Patience, in the consideration of the Sovereignty of the Almighty, who does all things well and wisely, and will get the Glory of Wisdom, even from the Creature's Folly. There I remained several Days before my *Mistress* came, which contained my Charge, to the Effect abovementioned, and no more, but that I had been at such a Meeting, and ordered me to be kept in Secure Custody, until the next *Quarter Session*, which was to be at *Guild-hall*, against *February 23d.* next to come ; which Term I waited with Patience. But before that Time, several Things did occur, not to be forgotten by me.

The Room we were in was a cold, dark, nasty Hole, and had ano-

ther worse Inconveniency of evil Neighbourhood, being next to the Room, where many Thieves, Robbers, High-way-Men, Pick-pockets, Fellons and Murderers were roaring and raging, like Hell, and nothing betwixt them and us, but a Grate, and our Room was a Through-fare to them to go down to the Cellar, whence they would come up amongst us drunk, rattling with their Irons on their Legs; which was very disturbing and discomposing; and the Room being so open, we could get no Conveniency for our Religious Exercise, but in the Night-time, when all were closed up. Yet though we had Offers of better Accommodation in the other Side of the Prison, for paying exorbitant Fees, and had many Invitations from our Friends, Prisoners there, and many Solicitations from others; and could look for nothing but the Rage of our Enemies, and the Reproach, or Misconstructions of our Friends, for our scrupulous Refusal; yet upon several Considerations, we demurred the Acceptance of it: Some of which I expressed in a Line to a dear Friend, and Preacher of the Gospel, Prisoner there, who had much urged me with that, when by his procurement, I got Liberty to visit him. The Letter was to this Effect,

Newgate, February 16. 1685.

Reverend and much Endeared BROTHER,

I Have not much of the Art, either of Ingratiating Flattery, or ingenuous Apologising, neither do I think, there is much Need of either to captate your Favour, which I presume is disposed to a charitable Construction of me, though possibly my Declinature of your kind and careful Proposal the other Day, might require some such thing; Yet I hope, your Candor will not put any sinister Interpretation on it, so far as your Discretion will suggest to you a favourable Meaning: I persuade my self, you will not judge my not accepting of a Chamber on your Side, did proceed, either from Scrupulosity to yield to such an Accommodation upon your Terms, as if I would take upon me to censure you, in that wherein you have so much Peace, and more Tenderneſs, than I can pretend unto; or from any Curiosity of Fondness for this Place, which hath so little inviting in it to any Rational Man, much less to a Christian (except it be the Advantage of having a View of Hell at the next Door) or from any Niggardly Loathness to part with Money, to which (for any thing ever I had Occasion to know of it) I judge the least Degree of Liberty, or Mitigation of Bondage, is very far preferable; especially in those my Circumstances, wherein I fear, or rather hope, I shall not have much Use for Money; far less, that it did proceed from any Aversion from that Converse, I might expect with you, than which in this our Lot, nothing could be more desirable, and nothing that I can think upon can be a more forcible Argument, to determine me to that Choice, which you desired. But I hope, That upon a very overly Reflection on our Circumstances, which

which you are not ignorant of, your own Consideration will lead you into another Estimate of my Motives, as yet to demur that Choice: Considering, there is some peculiar Singularity in my Circumstances, yet hanging in Suspence, which very shortly I expect will come to some Determination, and then that will determine my Choice, which hitherto, partly upon this Account, hath been demurred; because I could not know what to expect, as to their disposing of me. Then considering, why my Friends and Country-Men here, did chuse this Place at First; Partly, to save Charges, not expecting such Supplies, as the Goodness of GOD, and Bounty of his Friends, have provided them with; and having the Offer of this Place, and Promise of Freedom therein, without an Hire given to their Oppressors; And partly, indeed scrupulous, to give such Exactors any Acknowledgement of such imposed Debts, or Encouragement to their unjust Exactions, which, whatever may be said, as to the Relevancy of it, yet I judge it not my Part to censure or oppose, seeing I have been known by them, some time to have said, That if ever I were a Prisoner, I should desire to do the like, if it were in my Choice. Then also considering, That at my first commencing this new Lot, for which I bless GOD, I have more need of Help to praise, than Pity; I could not either in Conscience, or Credit, desert my Brethren and Countrey-Men, taken with me, and for me, and who were pleased to encourage themselves in Expectation of my Company, though very insignificant and worthless: And therefore now, if I should precipitate my Choice of other Accommodations, I should not only discourage and displease them, but be justly censurable, as regarding more my own Advantage, than their Encouragement, or my Duty to them: Nay, both Friends and Enemies might reproach me, either of inconstant, changeable Levity, or weak Impatience under the Cross. These Considerations, and others that may be added, have some Weight at present to preponderate, or at least to demur my Choice, until both I come to some Understanding of what the instant Sessions will determine about me, and until my Fellow-Prisoners be provided for, as well as myself, at least till they have some Access to, or Opportunity of hearing the Word; for I cannot think of leaving them destitute. I did propose to them your Overture of going to that Room, called the Castle; which, upon that prevailing Motive of your Communion, and your Friends in your Side, in the Gospel Ordinances, in a Freedom from our distracting Disturbances, I find 'em inclinable to hearken to, and take it to Consideration; but yet they must delay, till they see what GOD will order concerning them and me; whether we may expect some Settlement here, or to be sent else where. This I was desired by them, to signify to you. As for my Health, 'tis indeed valetudinary, and I have been ill of a pained Throat since I was with you, occasioned, as I think, by my too much Greediness of the open Air; but I bless the LORD, it is pretty well recovered again; if it recur, and Necessity urge, then I must make bold to seek a Lodging with you; but this at present does not fall under Deliberation. He, who is the Health of our Soul, can also pre-serve,

serve that of our Body here, as well as there. Sir, I return you hearty Thanks for your Favour, in procuring me the Priviledge of my last Visit, and I earnestly wish, that by your Intercession it might be continued. I am informed, That I am to appear shortly at Sessions, I would desire therefore to put you in mind of your Promise, and intreat it as a favour, to send me a Line of Advice, and of your thoughts of what I may plead as my Priviledge, together with that little Book of English Liberties; As also, I would fain know, if they can legally tender to me, the Oaths of Allegiance before the King's Coronation. Remetuber me to all Friends with you. I am,

Your Obliged Friend, and Brother in our Lord Jesus, and
Companion in Tribulation. A. S.

This was written after the late King's Fatal and Astonishing Death, the Circumstances whereof, and Opinions and Suspicions about it, I cannot Pertinently here Speak of, but only to Remark how it fell out in that Juncture, when we were Peremptorly and Positively threatned to be Transported to Scotland, but that Emergent retarded it a little, by His Order, *who cuts off the Spirit of Princes, and is Terrible to the Kings of the Earth.* It is a little Preposterous here to declare, how this was brought about, before I Memorate some other Passages, that were previous to it; only this much, to Explain the last Sentence of the foregoing Letter, the Insertion of which also, is a little out of Order, and may be thought not so pertinent to Transcribe here so largely; But I have set it down in this place, because it gives an Account of my Indictments, to sustain that first Grievance of staying in that Noisom Room, and the Obloquies that we behoved thereupon to underly for that time.

Another Grievance I met with there, was a severe Threatning, yea, and a Charge from Captain *Richardson* the chief Keeper of *Newgate*, to remove from that place to a worse, among the Fellons and Rogues in the *Common-side*, if I would not pay the Dues of the House, which I resolved not to obey, except forced by Violence; yet, to prevent Irritation, and upon my Comrade's desire, I wrote a Letter to him, which because I kept not a Copy of it, I cannot here Insert: But the import of it was, To show that we were Ignorant of the Laws of the House: Neither was it our Sentence to be Subject to all his Impositions; That we had not taken any Chamber from him, upon any Terms or Conditions to Pay him, and if he were not satisfied to Lodge us for nothing, let him send us out to shift for our selves; And because we were not his Voluntary Lodgers, to be Entertained according to Compact, but his Prisoners, and not legally so neither, we did not think it convenient to hire him to oppress us; But withal, desiring him in Generosity to consider, we were not Fellons; and that he would not be rash, but put it off a little till Sessions were over, and then, if we were liberate, or however it fell out, he should not have cause

cause to complain of our Civility. Which Line, tho' not so very Ingratiating, yet did obtain a delay till the Time came of our Transportation; And so never got any Fees from us.

Our Imprisonment, tho' we were Persons of obscure Note, and mean Figure in the World, yet, because we were *Scots-Men*, and so many taken together at a Meeting, was very much Noised and Talked in the City, so that the Rumour went to Court, That a Nest or Hive of *Scotch Rebels* was taken, thereupon Sir *Andrew Forrester* one of the Under-Secretaries, was sent to Examine my Comrads, before I entered to Prison; They were Interrogate upon all the *Scotch* usual Questions, and thereafter when it seems the Report went, that I was also in Custody, belike, either by the Invidious Information of Enemies, or the simple unadvised Sollicitation of Friends, he was sent to Examine me, upon all the Ordinary Insinuating Interrogatures, viz. *Owning the King's Authority, the Covenant, the Principle of Defensive Arms, the Bishop's Death, and the late Declaration.* Some of which I declined, some I owned, viz.

The Covenant, which I alledged was once our Oath of *Al-* * *The Account legiance*, and that Principle of Defensive Arms. The Particu- here to have been lar account whereof, I left in *London*, here to be * inserted. inserted, is not to

Before I was removed, when he had been Questioning be found. me about conversing with the Earl of *Argyle*, and Mr.

Ferguson, which I obviously and easily declined, yet I had simply told him, that lately I had been in *Holland*, which yet, when he wrote down all the rest of my Answers, he forgot to take Notice, or make mention of in the Paper, he was to return to them that sent him; which I am bound to Notice and Remember, as a great Providence: For if he had set that down, I might have expected a more troublesome Tryal on that Head, when I was before the Council of *Scotland*, who had all the rest of my Answers, and shifting Declinations to canvass, being sent down hither by Post.

We were then expecting, and many Times Threatned to be Transported: before the King's Death to *Scotland*; One thing especially I cannot forget to Record; that was sent to us a very few days before his Death. A Friend of one of my Contrads went to see Sir *And. Forrester* to intreat for his Mediation for some Favour; The Answer he got was, to bid us prepare our selves for Transportation, for it was peremptorily resolved, that assuredly at least four of us, whereof I was one, should be sent down to *Scotland*, and that very shortly, if there be not a Revolution in the Government! which happened within a very few days. I shall not put any Strained Construction on the words, which may seem to insinuate the Suspicion, either of Fear such a thing should fall out, or of

previous

previous Knowledge of the thing, as determined, which was shrewdly suspected by some, and the Reflection on it, when Occurring, *February 2d*, (the Day of the King's Death) with all the surprising Circumstances of it, and ugly Presumptions of foul-play, was very astonishing to us: Or if the words be capable of a more favourable Sense, as importing only the greatest of Asseverations, that nothing else could hinder our Transportation, but such an unexpected intervention; Yet, it was too far said, and too rashly spoken, to impawn the standing of the Government for our Removal. However it did so fall out, that that Revolution was a Let and Demur to our being sent to *Scotland* for a Time.

But none of these Pressures, either of present Troubles or future Fears, were so weighty to me, as to bear the many Calumnies and Aspersions that were cast upon me, even by pretended Friends, and too credulously entertained even by well-wishers, reproaching me with Affectation of Singularity and Giddy-Headed wildness, and dangerousness of Principles, and foolish running upon my own Sufferings. This was a great pressure upon my Spirit, and especially when I heard, such things were not only the Matter of common Talk, but particularly that my Friend, who had so much interposed for me with the Lord Mayor, and to whose Kindness I was so much obliged, was now highly resenting my Folly, and saying such things of me, and Protesting, that he had rather lost Ten Pounds, before he had ever meddled with me; Which thing I could not believe of him whom I esteemed so highly; Yet, for my own Exoneration, I write to him as follows.

Worthy Sir,

From Newgate,

AS I was never much acquainted with that part of the Age's Vanity, to affect a Parasitical Humour, so my Present Lot, doth more especially restrain me, under the Correcting Rebukes of the Holy Sovereign GOD, from using any Flattering Complements; yet not knowing but that my Silence now as well as my Speaking before, may be misconstrued, I thought it needful to give you the Trouble of this Line, Signifying to you, my yet abiding, constant Resentment of your Kindness, and care of my Concerns, and that I hope you will Entertain another Opinion of my Ingenuity and Simplicity, than to judge, that I make the Success of your undertakings the only Estimate of your Kindness. Sir, tho' it may be Charged to my unhappiness, that I cannot requite any of your Favours, and to my Folly, that I could not improve them; yet, I hope it shall never be Charged to my Ingratitude, that I forget the Sense of it, or do not resent it as thankfully, as if your Appearances for me had Succeeded, according to your design, and my desires. I am very Confident, that in your undertakings for me, you tended and had regard to that Peace and Satisfaction of my Conscience, as well as the Benefit of my Liberty; for which I believe, you did as much, and was

as Solicitors, as any Man or Christian could be for another, especially in the Croud of your other more important Businesses, which I am also Sensible you did postpone to mine: And as for the Event of it, I ever was, and ever shall be far from blaming either your Wisdom, or Diligence in that Matter, which was otherways over-ruled by a Higher and Wiser Hand, for my Tryal and Humbling, which I am called to adore with submissive Silence whatever Reflections I may have my self, or others may cast upon my Folly or Indiscretion. For after that Providence, by disappointing my resolved Appearance, the first Day at Guildhall, seemed to me to take the Determination of that Case out of my Hand, I gave my self Implicitly to his Conduct, without any Anxiety, what should be the Issue of it, as to my safety, if he might get Honour to himself out of it, in a way, wherein, most of himself, and least of me, should be seen; as I hope he will so in the End: And hence, all my care and desire was, to avoid Snares for my self, and trouble to my Friends, by either complying or compounding with my Adversaries. And therefore seeing my Bail, by his Imprudent, (tho' I shall ever think Honest and Simple) Precipitancy was like to involve himself, or engage my Friends in loss and trouble upon my Account, and to the Encouraging of the Enemy in their Impositions, and Acknowledging of their Illegal Incroachments. To prevent that, I was glad of all Opportunities, either to take it wholly off them, or to take all the burden upon my self; and with this desire, the offer of your kindness to me, and Interest in my Lord Mayor, did very well suit, and agree. And I thank the Lord, that with the Event of it, he hath given me Submission and Satisfaction, and so clear and undisputed Ground to state my Sufferings upon; For, whatever may be said, as to the occasion procuring my Sufferings, which I shall not trouble the World much to Justify, tho' many take to themselves the trouble of talking so much of it to my Reproach; yet, as to the Ground of it, I my self and they that sent me hither do know best; and that was for a simple Answer to one Question, and a Refusal to Answer others, which all Impartial Men will think Impertinent and Extraneous to the Charge, that I came there to Answer for. That which I did Answer, was very plainly Proposed, as one could have desired, by my Lord Mayor. Whether I would engage, never to go to a Meeting again? which I refused, not knowing how otherwise to evade it; as not being very expert in the Art of Equivocations. The other, relating to Scots Matters, I did decline, because though I could be very free, and not ashamed to declare to the World, my Sentiments of those things, yet neither did I think them proper for the Cognizance of that Court, nor (if they had) Pertinent nor Expedient for me to Answer; resolving never willingly to abandon that universally acknowledged Principle and Privilege, of the freedom of the Thoughts from Men's Jurisdiction. As for the other, about the Oath of Allegiance, I was altogether silent. neither had I Time to Answer; for that I took as my Lord Mayor's Kindness to me, that he was pleased to Divert it with another Question, which

I chuse rather to Answer. Now herein whatever weakness was in the Management of my Appearance and Answers, which I shall not Excuse; yet I have Peace in the Product of it, that the cause of my Commitment was so clear, because through Grace, I would neither betray the Interest of Truth and Duty, in engaging never to own it, nor my own Interest, common with Mankind, in answering all imposed Questions: For this I am glad that I am in New-gate, tho' under the Imputation of a Fool, rather than at Liberty, under the odious Character of a Knave.

Sir, The Reason of my Prolixness is, partly to Exoner my self from any cunning Calumnies, that some have raised of me, and of you, as being said to come from you; and partly to ease me of the Suspicion, if the Report be true, and to vindicate you from the Slander, if it be false, as I hope it is, which is said of you, viz. That you should say, I have run my self head-long, or head-strong, into this Lot; and that I discovered my self to be a Man of very Dangerous Principles; and that I Spoke Treason before that Honourable Court; and that therefore you wished you had rather lost Ten Pounds, than ever to have been concerned in or for my Appearance: Sir, This Report hath been very Wounding to my Ears, as I believe the repeating of it, which my Confidence in your Candor will not suffer me to conceal, will be very unpleasant to yours; and I am very loth to entertain any such thoughts of a Man of your Ingenuity, to whom I am so much obliged: But to the Thing it self alledged to be said by you, I crave leave to say, As to the first, My own Accession to my present Affliction, I think it not so much my Business to clear my self, who am so conscious of so much sin and folly, attending all my Actions, as to vindicate others, who may be traduced for it, and to free them from the Snare of doing that for me, which I had not clearness to do my self. This was my Accession, and this I must own: But I think I am more indispensibly called to clear GOD, who hath done all things well and wisely for me in this Concern, discovering my Folly, the imprudence of some Men's Diligence, the unsuccessfulness of others more prudent Transactions, the fallibility of all Carnal and Created Confidence, in putting Trust in Men, and making all these things conduce and co-operate for his own Holy Ends in my Tryal. However I hope that He will make it appear, that I have not run without His leading, who leadeth the Blind in a way they know not. As for my Principles, I know not any Occasion I had to discover them there; or if I had, I trust I could have manifested they were not dangerous, tho' may be, they might be such as might endanger my own present Safety: I know none that ever I entertained or discovered to the World, but if I were called thereto, I trust thro' Grace, I dare avouch them without Fear or Shame. As for my speaking Treason, I am liable to the Court's Censure for it, and think it a sufficient Discharge and Confutation of that, that I am sent hither in such a manner and upon such a Mittimus; And I hope you your self can clear me of any such thing who was a present Ear-Witness

ness to what was said, and therefore I need not repeat it. It might have been said better, and with more Wit, but I cannot tell, if with more Honesty, the Honour of which I look most to. As for the last, I must needs confess, whether you was pleased to say it or not, you might very well say it; For I believe the Loss of Ten Pound would not have been either so great a Loss, or so great a Trouble as you have sustained and undergone in this Troublesome Business. But I hope, as you did undertake it upon a higher Design, and a more Honourable Account, than either your own Credit, or my Safety; so He, upon whose Account you did it, will carry you through, and bring it to more advantage than twice so many Pounds can amount to.

Thus, Sir, I have made bold to accost you, with this confused scribbling, amidst the Hurry and Noise of this Nasty and Tumultuous Place; hoping you will put the most favourable Construction upon it that it's capable of; and that for the unsuccessfulness of this Attempt, you will not be discouraged, nor disclaim to help me, at least with your Advice and Council, as being wholly ignorant of what is Law, wherof I only desire the Benefit; And that you would be pleased to put me in some way for the Mitigation and Accommodation of our Afflictions, how to get off the pinching Irons from my fellow Prisoners, which will exceedingly add to the many Obligations already conferred on.

Sir,

Your Humble and Obliged Servant in our Sweet LORD JESUS. A. S.

When the Term drew near of the Sessions at Guildhall I was looking to have been called, and preparing for the worst of it, which I expected then should have been to be premunired, for refusing the Oath of Allegiance, which I resolved never to take. But my forecastings were not determined in Heaven. The LORD had appointed me for further Tryals, than I could then foresee, though still I had some fears of the threatned Transportation, as I have before hinted; which at that distance had a very formidable aspect. Therefore I earnestly desired at that Time to have been called, that so my Cause might come to a Decision in Judgement, and thereby my fears of more might be precluded. Therefore I had sent to the Clerk to get a Sight of my Indictment, and to desire him to mind to call me. But when the Day came February, 23d, I was forgot, and not called. Some days after the Court was to be holden at Old Baillie, by the Lord Mayor and Recorder, &c. Before which I had a Mind to urge my Compareance; but was much dissuaded by Friends; yea, the Clerk, in an Excuse which he sent for forgetting me at Guildhall, dissuaded me from appearing at Old Baillie, and advised me to go by an Order to the Lord Mayor in private, after Sessions were over: Which I took to Advice. But I was prevented of coming to any deliberate Determination, by a new surprising Charge: The Night before, our Transportation, late at Night, a Messenger came to us, and bid us prepare for Removing out of that Place next Morning: And

when asked, whither? he would not satisfie us, but told he knew not, but it might be to *Ludgate*, another Prison in the City; but we suspected the worst, that it was indeed for *Scotland*, and sat up all Night, where collecting what all my Transactions with the Lord Mayor, were now like to come to, I wrote a Letter to him, which I left behind to be delivered next Morning, which because I have not a Copy of it, I cannot here Transcribe, but the import of it was: *To acquaint him that now we were most illegally to be taken out of his Hands, and to be Transported to Scotland, without Intimation of any Charge, which, as for my own particular, behoved to be an intolerable Illegalitie, I being no Legal Prisoner, now after the expiring of my Commitment; and therefore might demand my Libertie. I put him in Mind, how against all Law, and known Practise, I had been sent to Prison, for declining impertinent Questions, which all present at Court, hissed at, and refusing an Engagement; never to go to a Meeting again, which in some Sense no Conscience could take, nor no Law could impose; and yet when I was sent, it was without any peremptorie Order on Mittimus, till I had been there several Days; And when it came, it specified the continuance of my restraint there only, till next Sessions; at which I was not called, though I had given the Clerk timely Advertisement before. I desired him to mind, that the Law of England made my Meeting for Worship (not according to the Liturgie) one of two, either a Conventicle or a Rant: And let ours be made what it could, such a Procedure with me, could have no Colour of Law; For if it were a Conventicle, then the House and Preachers were onlie lyable to pay Twentie Pound a Piece, and the Meeters only five shillings. And if it were made a Rant, the House was to pay nothing, and the Meeters were to be Fined in Fourtie shillings: But however, I discovered that the Recorder, for his own most base Ends, had made sure work with our Meeting, and in a Clandestine way had made it both, a Conventicle; to exact the Fine of Twentie Pound, which through the Good-simplicities, was payed him (I suppose unknown to his Lordship) and a Rant to Man's make the poor People (there taken) pay Exorbitant Fines. Which as it was contrarie to all Law, so it was palpable inconsistent with Common Sense, for it could not be both. I desired him to Reflect on his fair Promisses to my Friend, and if neither Respect to Justice, nor pity to the Oppressed, nor regard to Faithfulness in many reiterated Promises might carry weight: Yet that some respect to the Honour of the Name of Mayor should be upstirring, to signify some Resentments of the Encroachments which were made on his Authority and Jurisdiction, in Treating us his Prisoners at such a Rate, possibly all without his Knowledge: That therefore he might shew his Power and Respect to the Credite of his Court, &c. to rescue it, and stop our Transportation, and Arrest us, till further Orders. And that he would mind the Extremity of this haste and hurry, was the Desire of*

A. S.

This

This is only some Memorial of the Matter of that Letter which I prepared for my Lord *Mayor*, to be sent to him next Morning, as early as was possible, but whether it was ever delivered or not, I know not, or how he resented it, both ignorant and regardless. But it was pretty long, full, and plain: However, I waited not the Answer, for very early next Morning, being *March. 4th*, the Messenger came again to us, and told us we must be ready presently to be taken down to the Yacht, lying at *Greenwich*, and there Transported to *Scotland*! We asked, how it came, we were so surpris'd, and no Time was allow'd us to prepare our selves? What unheard of Cruelty was this! he regarded it not, but said, we must go presently. However, through the Civility of the Keepers, some Friends were allow'd to come in and see us; And about half an Hour thereafter, the Messenger came with one of the Chief Keepers, and some other Officers, came to us with Iron Cuffs, as they call them, Shackles to bind two and two of us together; and when they were offer'd, I demand'd a sight of their Warrant, or Order; without which I told them I would not go down Stairs, except they Dragged me, nor put on their Fetters except they would do it by force; For I look'd upon their Violence as Robbery and no Law: Whereupon forthwith they snatch'd my Arm, and put on their Irons, and so all of us were bound two and two together. Then as they pretended to gratifie us, the Order was produced and Read, containing a Charge of High-Treason against us, for which we were to be carried to *Scotland*, and Try'd and Arraign'd there according, to Law. Thereafter we were carried down to the Streets; and all our things we had in Prison, as Bed, and Cloaths, and Chifts, &c. were retained and seiz'd upon; Our Friends never recover'd any of them. To put the greater Disgrace upon us (as they thought) they brought us out at the same Time that several Malefactors were brought out, to be carried to *Tyburn* to be Hanged, and led us in solemn Procession, in Rank, two and two, through the Streets towards the River *Thames*, Multitudes of People gazing upon us, and enquiring, what Rogues were these? And what was our Crime? Some conjectured one thing, some another, according to their Fancy. We answer'd nothing? But one Gentlewoman that walk'd along in my Hand, Convoying me to the Boat, Answer'd very boldly, *This is for being at a Protestant Meeting, take heed to your selves, good People, ye see what Times we Live in.* So we were all put in two Boats being Eight in Number, and one of us very Sick, and continued all the Voyage so, and dy'd within two days after our Arrival in *Scotland*. We were taken in at *Blackfriar's* Stairs, and shutting the Bridge, were brought to the Yacht at *Greenwich*, where there was a Party of Soldiers, all *Scotsmen*.

of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, on Board, appointed to attend us, and go along with us for our Guard to *Scotland*. We lay at Anchor at *Greenwich* till towards Night, being fettered all the Time, where we had several Visits of Friends from *London*, to whose Singular Kindness and Sympathy we were more obliged than I can express, far less shall be able to requite: As indeed we were under many Obligations, to have that Testimony of the *English* Professing People, that, for Courtesie and Tender-bearing of Burdens with the Afflicted, they are Singular, and far surpass all Experience, elsewhere.

Before Night they weighed, and fell down the River. Next Morning we were at Sea: The Name of the Yacht was, *The Kitchen-Yacht*, Captain *Crow* Commander. We had a Tollerable Passage to *Holy-Island*, being there on the *LORD's* Day. Then the Wind taking us short, we came to an Anchor, and rode out a great Storm for three Days. Next Day we weighed, and sailed betwixt the *Bass* and the Shore, and were saluted with five or seven Guns from the Garrison: About Two or Three a Clock in the Morning following, we let go the Anchor in *Leith-Road*, *March* 12th. It was a very sad and weary Voyage; my Comrads being all Sea-sick and wanting Accommodation of Cabbins to ly in: We never shifted our selves all the Time; nor, which was saddest, had we any Conveniency for Exercise, but in the Night-time and one of our Comrads was extreemly Sick, and Raving in the Height of a Fever all the way. But after we came to Sea, all our Shackles were taken off us, and a Sentinel set, with a Sword in his Hand, at our Cabin Door, all the Voyage. After we came to an Anchor in *Leith-Road*, as soon as it was Light, we were again fastened two and two with our Cuffs. And before Night, the Yacht was halled in to the Harbour: Where a great Confluence of People gathered upon the Shoar to gaze at us, and some came in to see us, among whom was my Mother and Brother weeping upon me: When the Guard came, which was a Company of Grenadeers, we were delivered over to them, and by them carried to *Edinburgh-Tolbooth*. I was the first that came to Shoar, and as soon as I set my Foot upon the Land, a Fellow took me by the Arm and grasped me straitly: I asked him, why he pinched me so hard? and prayed him to be Civil; His Answer was, as civil (said he) as Powder and Lead will be, and as I ought to be to all Traitors. We had procured a Coach for our sick Comrade, and then were Guarded on Foot our selves, and were received into the Tolbooth about Eight a Clock at Night: And after a little repose in the Hall, were put up altogether in the Gentlemans Chamber, (as they called it,) where were about Thirty Prisoners, so crowding the Room, that we could not get a bit to sit down in. There we were told our Hazards,

ard s, and what we might expect to be Examined about, and were certified, that if we would not own the King's Authority, and take the Oath of Abjuration, there could be no saving of our Lives, unto which generally all of them did perswade us; and that Night they shewed us a Late Indemnity, but so clogged with Exceptions, and clagged with cunningly-covered snares, that it was small Comfort to me. These Discourses spent much of the Night: Yet, through the LORD's Kindness to me, I was well supported, and rather longed for, than feared the Approach of the Ensuing Day, though we knew nothing, but expected a very quick and cruel Dispatch: In the latter part of the Night, I slept as soundly as ever I did all my Days. Next Day I began my sorrowful and ensnaring Examinations, which had such a Various, and (to me) astonishing Issue, which I cannot, without Horrour, reflect upon. Yet, as I drew them all up in Minutes, after they past, I shall here insert them in Order, with my Reflections on them afterwards.

My First Examination before the Privy Council of Scotland, March 13. 1685

THIS Day I was carried before a Committee of the Council, in Order to Examination; whereof now I will give this short and confused, but true and ingenuous Account, and that as near as may be, in the very Order and Terms of the Questions and Answers, as my Disordered Memory can recollect them. But as to the Purpose, I shall not prevaricate, by adding or impairing any thing Material; and this I have thought needful to communicate, for the Information of such as are concerned, or inquisitive about me, to know the Cause of the Speciality of my Restraint; lest I should be lyable to Odious or Invidious Misrepresentations, on any Hand.

At my first Introduction, the Questions were as follow: *Q. Is Your Name Mr. Alex. Shields? Ans. Yes. Q. Are you a Merse-man? Yes. Q. Was you taken as a Conventicle in London? A. Yes, I was taken at a Meeting for the Worship of GOD, which however it be now Obnoxious, yet I prize it above my Liberty, on dearest Enjoyments in the World. Then one of their Lordships told me, Well, You was taken for that, but now, being a Scots-Man, you are sent down to us, upon Suspicion, to be tryed: A. My Lord, if it be so criminal to be a Scots-Man, then it is a Mystery indeed, but very dishonourable to our Country. Well, but your Loyalty is suspected, and therefore you must be interrogate, Whether you will own the Authority of the present King, or not? A. My Lords, the Question is surprising, and I am in a very Bad Capacity to answer; I would hope your Lordships would take some Cognizance of my present Indisposition of Body.*

Body, and Discomposure of Spirit, occasioned by our long Tossings and Hurryings, without any Repose, out of a Nasty Tumultuous Prison, to a Troublefome Voyage at Sea, where we could have no Conveniency for Sleep, and from Sea to a Prison again, where we have far less; and the Matter is of great Moment, and your Questions that you seem to be about to pose me with, are difficult, and may be of dangerous Consequence to me; and therefore require some more Deliberation. They replied, *We cannot help that. You have had Time enough to consider of it. But will you own the Authority, or not?* A. Let me first understand, what I am charged with against the Authority, either as to Principle or Practice, I am here to vindicate my self, or be subject to the Law. It was replied, *These Evasions will not do; we came not here to charge you with anything, but to examine you: Will you own the Authority, or not?* A. You may as well pick any Man off the Street, and question him about these things. They answered, *They might do it by the Law of Scotland; and that all the Subjects thereof are obliged to answer positively.* I answered, They would take it as a very illegal Imposition, except they were charged with some thing. They urged, *They would take it as Consenting, and hold me as Convicted, if I did not answer positively.* I answered, I plead only for that Priviledge common to all Mankind, the Freedom of the Thoughts, which I judge are not subject to any Tribunal on Earth; but I do not care, if my Heart were unbowed to the World, and if it were, I trust my Sentiments of these Matters are such, as I would not be ashamed, or afraid to own and avouch before any Man. Q. *Freedom! Is it free for any Subject to disown the King?* A. I am not yet charged with disowning him. Q. *You must answer to the Question: Will you own or disown the Authority of the King?* A. I would be resolved of another Question, or two, that is, *What you understand by Authority?* and what you mean by *owning?* They answered, *The Question is plain.* I said, I did not understand the Design of it. Q. *Why so?* A. Because the Question is ambiguous, and capable of different Senses: For, either by Authority you mean, That as it is at present established and administred; and if so, there are many things that I cannot own in it; or you understand his Legal Right to it; and if so, then I would understand what you mean by *owning* of that? For, if by owning you mean a *passive Subjection*, I stoop to the Holy Providence, that hath given him the Possession, I think that's enough to me: But if you mean an active Acknowledgement of his Hereditary Right, I think it an Imposition, to be bound, to give my Thoughts of it: I came not to dispute his Right. They replied, *That any Body would say the same of an Usurper.* I asked, *What must be understood by it then?* One of their

their Lordships answered, *That by owning his Authority, I behoved to own it unlawful, to rise in Arms against the King, upon any Pretence whatsoever.* I answered, *That if that be the Meaning, I durst not own it, without a palpable abandoning of Reason, and disowning that innate Principle of self Defence, and Privilege of preserving Humane Liberties.* Q. *Where did you ever read in Scripture, That People did ever rise in Arms against their King? or did ever justify any such Thing?* A. I am not to dispute that Point now: And if I were, I trust I could produce both Scripture and Reason for it: And tho' it could not be deduced from express Scripture, whose Purpose is to reveal, and regulate us in greater Matters, yet one of CHRIST'S Laws could never contradict another, the Law of Revelation can never be against the Law of Nature. His Lordship answered, *True, but the one is corrected by the other.* A. I grant, but correcting is not contradicting. But, my Lord, said I, I desire to wave that Debate, and if there be any Crime charged against me, I desire it may be instructed and made good. It was replied, *You will not own the King's Authority.* A. My Lord, is that Treason? I am accused of Treason, I thought always Treason had been an elicit or overt Act: It was replied, *That was an overt Act, when you will not own Authority when commanded.* A. My Lord, I must be better informed first, what *owning Authority* is. The other Lord answered, *It is to take the Oath of Allegiance.* I answered, *That is strange! If it be so, I am not clear till my Scruples be solved.* The other Lord said, *What! will you not own him, as now by Succession possessed, in the Throne of his Predecessors?* A. If that be the Meaning of it, I own it, and am now actually subject. Then the Advocate, Sir George Mackenzie being present; One of them said, My Lord Advocate, I think you must take this Man through Hand. Then he said, *I perceive, Mr. Shields, you are in a great Error, and will run your self in great Danger, if you be not aware.* A. Sir, if I knew how to avoid it, I would. So he again resumed the Question; and I answered to the same Purpose, as before. Then said he, *None will refuse to own Authority, but the Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and some of our Wild-Felks of assassinating Principles: None of the Gentlemen that came Prisoners from London, but they owned it, and Jerviswood expressly owned it.* A. Sir, I do not refuse to own Authority, I think it an excellent Ordinance of God, wherein much of the Divine Majesty is impressed, when improved for the Ends for which it is appointed; only I decline to answer; because the Question, I think, is ambiguous; and I would preserve all the Liberty I have, that is, of my Thoughts: And as for the Practice of other Gentlemen, I am not concerned, every one is free in that Matter: But for Jerviswood, when I am legally charged with any Practice, or Design against the Government, I shall desire to be as free

as I can, in giving my Sentiments, according to my Understanding. But, said he, it is not here as in England; every Subject is bound to answer to such Questions, or else to be held as guilty: There is the Opinion of the Lords of Session for it. A. I am very ignorant of the Law; but Reason seems to say, it is no Consequence, because a Man will not tell what he thinks, therefore he is Guilty. Then turning to the Lords, My Lords, said I, I hope, your Lordships will not prey, or take Advantage of my ignorance of the Law, I desire the Benefit of it, and the Privilege of a Man, of a Christian, and of a Subject, that's all. One of them replied, You are a very bad Lawyer, and as bad a Christian, and no Privilege is due to any that will not own the Authority. A. As for my Christianity, I assert, That in my Practice, I have endeavoured to keep a good Conscience void of Offence towards God, and towards Man; and my Principles are none, but according to Truth and Soberness: But as for the Privilege of a Subject, I do not see how I should be denied it, till I be convicted a Rebel. Sir George said, All are accounted the King's Enemies, who will not own his Authority. A. Sir, I humbly conceive, there is a Medium, and should rather think, all are in Charity to be thought his Friends, who do not disown it, as it cannot be proved I have done yet. Q. Say, Will you own it or not? A. I plead first for the Liberty of the Mind; and next for better understanding of the Terms. Sir George said, Will you acknowledge his Right to be King, and that he is rightful King of Scotland, &c. A. I think these Questions ly out of my Sphere, and that every private Man should not dive into the ARCANUM IMPERII. He said, That was Nonsense, and that there was no Arcanum in the King's undoubted Rights. And so harangued a little upon that Theme, and the Perniciousness of that Principle, that disowned it. I answered for that which was open and patent to the World, I own that he is proclaimed King of Scotland, England and Ireland. He replied, That the greatest Enemies he hath would own that. I answered, I judge the greatest Friends he hath can own no more, being he is not yet crowned. They stormed at that: And then I said, When the Authority is legally devolved upon him, by the Representatives of both Kingdoms, then it is Time enough for me to give an Account of my Sentiments about it, if they were of any Significancy. Then said one of the Lords, Nay, he would not own the Authority of K. Charles the 2d neither. That was the Question at London, said he; but now will ye not own the the Authority of K. James 7th. A. I am not free to answer otherwise than I have done. Then said Sir George, All the World cannot save you from hanging. A. I think there is one can save me, and if not, all the World cannot save it from Murder. Q. What do you think of Bothwell-Bridge Rebellion? A. That is only my Opinion you ask: I am not free

free at this Time. Then they spoke some thing among themselves I could not hear. Q. *Do you think it lawful to assassinate any for opposing Presbyterian Government?* A. I know none of that Opinion, and I have not declared mine. Q. *Did not you say at London at your Examination, That you owned the Covenant as his Oath of Allegiance?* (This was only a Mistake, because the Words of my Answer were set down, relating to me in the third Person by Sir Andrew Forrester) A. I said no such thing; though now I say, It was his Oath of Allegiance to God; but I said, it was our Oath of Allegiance. They replied disdainfully, *Only we deny it to be.* I answered, But it was ours, that is, mine and others. Then they threatened again; upon which, I only desired a Legal Prosecution: Whereupon they only threatened me again, and dismissed me. And so I was removed from my Fellow-Prisoners, into the Iron-House, a close Prisoner. This is the Substance of my Examination, and the whole Purpose of it, as I can remember.

In this, I cannot but adore the Wisdom of the LORD's Conduct, but with blushing at the Folly of mine. I was indeed determined, I think, by a Sovereign Hand, and led upon this, not-usually-trodden Path, by Truth's Confessors, beyond my ordinary *Genius*, or Inclination, to fence with those kinds of long Weapons, declining direct Answers, which is the most difficult Road, and most lyable to Snares, and wherein it is more hard to avoid wronging of Truth, than the plain and open-hearted Way, which is usually branded by the World with Folly, though often attended with more gracious Assistance, and a more honourable Issue. Yet I cannot altogether condemn prudent waving *Categorical* Answers, to insnaring, and imposing Questions; for that Way hath been consecrated by the greatest of Truth's Witnesses some times; yea, even by Our Blessed LORD JESUS himself, the Captain of our Salvation, who witnessed a good Confession before Pontius Pilat; and yet several times in his Trials, waved a direct Answer; and followed by Paul, who pleaded the Law and legal Privileges as a Man, as a Jew, and as a Roman, till it came to the Case of Confession, when a waving or declining would have been interpreted a denying of the Truth, or Matter of their Testimony in their Day. That which induced me to this kind of Dealing, was, that I would fain have had the State of my Sufferings founded upon some Word of CHRIST's Patience, purely religious, and positively Truth or Duty, and not upon State Matters: And in that Case, I thought I could with a great deal of chearful Confidence speak my Mind of it; and give a Reason of my Faith and Hope to every Man that asked: But to venture my Life upon Matters so apparently extrinsick to Religion, (as I was tempted to think) was to me a confounding Difficulty, and

a great Demur to my resolved Plainness, through the whole Tract of my Trials, especially at the Beginning. Now this I reflect upon, as my great Weakness: *First*, To think that a Man can have the Choice of the State of his Sufferings, or that he may pick and wile out any Head relative to Truth, which he may suffer upon, or shift, as he pleaseth. Upon more deliberate Consideration, I am made to think, he can no more determine the State or Head of his Sufferings, than the Time, Method, Measure, or Manner of them; for all these are Circumstances not in a Man's Option to dispose. Next, I reflect on it as my Weakness, that I could not see the great concerning and momentuous Importance of these Matters, and the Interest Religion hath in them, to be strenuously testified for, by all the Lovers of CHRIST: For the Question about owning Authority, is not a small Matter, nor only Civil, though it be *circa Civilia*, but concerning a great Ordinance of God, *Magistracie*, which is now so manifestly perverted, that as it is now established, and exercised, and invested in the Usurper's Claim to it, is nothing but pure and perfect Tyranny; which to own, or acknowledge in Conscience (for every judicial Declaration of a Christian's Mind, must be in Conscience, as in the Sight of God) is not far from Blasphemy, and is a base abandoning and prostituting all the dearest and nearest Privileges of Mankind, to the Lusts of their declared Enemies, for Fear of their Threats, which is most unworthy of a Christian, who is more than a Man, and more a Man than other Men; and besides, I cannot but think, I was very far short of my Duty, considering how this same very Question hath been the Matter of the Testimony of many dear to God, *Who loved not their Lives unto the Death*, but willingly sacrificed them upon this very Point; that I was not plainer herein, as if I had despised, and thought it unworthy of my poor Testimony too: And that I had not the right Uptakings of the Enemy's Designs, which by the Help of Hell's Contrivance, are levelled against Religion, not directly and formally under that Notion, but obliquely in the Destruction of the Lovers and Professors of it, under the Name and *Odium* of being Enemies to Government, which if I had rightly considered, I would have thought it my Duty, to have been more explicit, to have studied to answer rather to the Scope and Tendency, than to the Term and Tenor of their Interrogations, by such Evasions as mine were. But more particularly, for this Examination, I reflect on these Escapes. (1.) I think I should have either been more plain, in answering all the Questions ingenuously, which in those Circumstances at my first Appearance before them, I could not see it Duty; or more prudent in answering all alike, and stood to that Priviledge, which I began to plead for, *The Libertie of the Mind*, for no Law could have extorted it. (2d.) I think

think in one particular, I did foolishly and unfaithfully, in answering to that, about that worthy Gentleman and honoured Martyr Mr. *Robert Baile* of *Jerviswood*, That when I should be legally charged with any Practice or Design against the Government, &c. which though my Record is on High, I intended it not, yet it carries a tacite Insinuation, that he was legally charged with, and convicted of these Things; at least it hath an Appearance of a dreadful Evil, no less than an indirect consenting to, and Approbation of his Murder. (3d.) Upon a Review of these Things, I find in my Opinion more of Equivocation, than possible may well suite a Profession of Gospel Simplicity.

In the Iron-House I was let alone for Ten Days; where I had very comfortable and peaceable Societies though very much Crowded with Multitudes of several sorts, and severals being there in Irons. The Keepers were very rude, coming always in to tell us and search our Room and Beds lying upon the Ground, for Instruments (as they pretended) wherewith we might break the Prison, with drawn Swords; Especially one *Denholm*, who one Day commanding me imperiously to rise off my Bed, because I was not so ready in obeying, and because with-al, when he swore, I reproved him for it, he pointed his drawn Sword to my Breast, and swore he would run me through. And because I told him he durst not, and that I would not be Hecctored with him, he raged most insolently, yet was restrained from Violence. I was every Day looking for being called out before the Justiciary, and then knew no better, but that it should be to get my Sentence of Death, for I was ignorant of the Form of their Laws. At length after Ten Days, upon *March 23d* all my Comrads in the Gentleman's Chamber, that had come from *England* with me, and I, also were called and carried by a Party of the Town-Guards, to the Court of Justiciary, where we only saw one another again, but could not Converse together. That Day all the rest took the Oath of *Abjuration*, and so escaped further Process for that Time. But that Day did not my Business. The Purport of my Examination was as follows.

My first Criminal Examination before the Justiciary, March 23d, 1685.

I Would hereby notifie and make known to all my Friends, who are Friends to our common Lord and Master, and Law-giver and to his Righteous and Noble Cause, as now Stated, and in Agitation betwixt Him and His declared Enemies (that Faction now prevailing, and possessing the Places of Publick Rule in the Nation) for their Information and my own Exoneraton, to the end, Invidious Mitreports may be prevented. I say, to them, who are concerned in the Cause, and concerned to know the cause of my Sufferings, I would offer this true

Per.

Representation of my Interrogations. I was called to answer this Day, being the 23^d of March 1685, before the Lords of Justiciary (as they were Termed to me, though I could discover nothing among them deserving so Honourable a Signature) whereof this is as full an Account as I can Recollect at the Time, though therein I cannot ascribe my self to the Order or Method of the Questions (which were Immethodical, as well as impertinent) yet all these were their Questions, and all these were my Answers, without Prevarication.

I Stood first at some distance, when brought before them : Then I was commanded to draw nearer. And then the Clerk first moved the Question, *What was your Father's Name ?* Ans. *James.* Q. *What is your own ?* A. *Alexander.* Q. *Are you not James Shields Son of Haugh-head ?* A. *yes, I was Born in Haugh-head.* Q. *Did not you know Captain Hall of Haugh-head ?* A. *I know no such Man where I was Born.* The Advocate Sir George M'kenzie asked, *Was you at Bothwell ?* A. *You must prove that, if it be my Crime.* It was Replied. *That we can do in a very short Time within Eight Days.* A. *I believe it will be very hard.* Replied they, *it needs not much Probation, since you are in the Fugitive Roll.* A. *You may put me in what Roll you please, every Printed Roll is not Truth, nor the proof of Truth :* Replied they, *You cannot say against it, you were Legally Summoned before the Circuit-Court, and your absence was sufficient Conviction by the Laws of the Kingdom ?* A. *I know no such Laws, I received no such Summons, and I am here to answer to my Legal Conviction.* Sir George then had a Harrangue, declaring that the Business at present was only to Report to their Lordships how that I had been before a Committee of the Council, and declined to answer, and therefore they were to Examine me further. And therefore said he, *You are to declare whether you will own that Treasonable Declaration, emitted latelie by some Rebels, in so far as it declares a War against the late King Charles 2^d ?* A. *I think it hard to be imposed upon to give my Judgment of it, being not concerned ; I think it strange to be hurried so always in to such Interrogatories, without any Advertisement or Time to consider. As I was hurried out of Newgate-Prison, without being acquainted whither I was to go. So when I arrived here, I was hastened to answer before the Council, having no Time to deliberate, nor Knowledge of the Crime to be Charged ; and now this Day, not a moment's Time to Advise.* Replied they ; *You shall not be hurried, but we would have you to know that you must Answer.* A. *I see it a Misery to be a Scotsman ; I have been in several Places of the World, but I never heard of such things imposed upon any Man.* Replied Sir George : *It is a Miserie to have to do with such Rascals as you are ?* A. *Its not proved wherein I am a Rascal.* Replied they, *do not murder your self, we are free of your Blood, let it be upon your*

your own Head, if you do not answer otherways. I said nothing, at least I cannot remember what I said. Q. Will you Subscribe this Paper (which was the Testificate or Pass declaring by Oath the Abjuration of the said Paper, which by mistake they presented to me.) and you shall have your Libertie? A. Its full of blanks, I do not understand it, its the first time ever I saw it, I never Read it, and therefore cannot Subscribe it implicitly. Replied, *The Blanks are onlie for your Name, and Place, and Parish, &c. The meaning is to Abjure that Declaration, and to Own and Swear you shall never Rise in Arms against the K. I. N. G.* This was said by one that sat next me. Ans. I cannot take it in that Sense, I dare not Swear any such thing absolutely. Repl. Sir George, *you must give your positive Answer against Wednesday next, and according to it, you are to be Tried, and shall Die on Friday following.* I was silent, then said one of the Lords, *we will give you the Declaration, and that Pass, to consider upon it till then, Read it, and Ponder it.* So I received it, but did not look upon it then. But afterwards found, that instead of that Declaration, they had given me their own Proclamation about it: so that it was put to me to give my Judgement of their Sentiments and Representation of it, and not of the thing it self: Then they urged, *That by the Law of all Nations, when there is any War declared against the King, all the Subjects are to declare whom they are for, and if they will not declare for him and disown the Rebels; then they are to be reputed as his Enemies?* Ans. It may be so in the Time of War, for such Subjects as are Present in the Kingdom, but not for the Absent, after the War is ceased, to give their Opinion about it, when not concerned in it. Q. *How is the War ceased, these Rebels are going about the Country, still Killing &c.?* Ans. I know nothing of that, I am not with them you see; but I think the War is ceased, because the Object is ceased, King Charles is Dead. Repl. *It is not the Person Invested, but Authority it self that they declare against:* Ans. I Judge it must be the Person, for as I understand, they Name him. Repl. *What do you talk of Naming him? What is done against the former, concern all succeeding in Authority.* Ans. I do not yet understand that they have declared War against King James 7th. Repl. *Do you hold your self under more Obligations to own King James 7th. than King Charles 2d.* Ans. No, I think it all one upon the Matter: But if I be obliged to give my Opinion about a War, declared against a King deceased and gone, then by the same Parity of Reason, I must give my Opinion of that War of the Lords of the Congregation (as they were called) against Queen Mary, when they deposed her, in the beginning of the Reformation; what am I concerned with that? Nothing was answered, but some Fretted, and some Smiled one to another. Then said one of the Lords, *When*

any War is Declared against the King, any of His Majesty's Soldiers may Question any Man, whom he is for? And if he be not for the King, he may Act against him as an Enemy. That's something of the Law Martia!, which I do not well understand; but no Reason will allow, after the War is Finished, the same to be acted against any Person not present at these Transactions. Repl. *All Subjects are Subjects, be where they will, and Interested in the War of the Kingdom, whereof they are Subjects; and therefore you must be concerned in it, wherever you were.* Ans. I know not where I was, when that War was declared, but well I know, I could not be concerned, before I knew of it: And I know nothing of it, but as others (the least concerned) by common Report. Q. *I had did you think of it when you knew of it? Will you own it now?* Ans. I had my own Thoughts of it as others had but was not concerned. And I think I may be as well obliged to give my Opinion of Count Tekli's declaring War against the Emperor. Nothing was said to this, as I Remember. Q. *Was not you in Franequer then?* Ans. No, I was never there. Q. *Was you in Groningen?* Ans. Never. Replied one sitting by, *Are not you in a Lie now? Your Confession at London, says, you were in Holland!* Ans. Holland is not Franequer nor Groningen, and of these I said nothing. Sir Geo ge Mackenzie said then, *let us not Trifle, proceed to the next* Q. *Do you own the Authority or not?* Ans. I cannot Answer otherwise than I did. Then Sir George made an Invictive by way of Report of my Answers to the Lords. Then they held out the Danger of it to me. I answered, I would consult Duty and Conscience in these things, and durst not be implicit in such Impositions. They Spoke many Times together, I desired leave to Answer one at a Time. So they urged again. Ans. I endeavoured to plead before the Council, and do now plead for that Privilege common to Mankind, the freedom of the Thoughts, Subject to no Tribunal under Heaven; for that is the Almighty's Prerogative. Repl. *It is not his Prerogative, there is no such freedom left to any to decline to Answer such a Question.* Ans. Your Lordships know, Men have several Sentiments about Authority, but none were ever questioned for them when not declared, or were ever forced to declare them, especially about Succession, that ever I heard of before. Replied Sir George, *That were Intollerable, if it were left to the freedom of every Man to entertain such Sentiments; or to disown Authority when they please, no Man could be sure of his Life; that Freedom would destroy humane Society.* Ans. I have not yet declared my Sentiments, nor disowned Authority. And I think no Man can be sure of his Life or any Liberty, if he must abandon that innate Freedom; and be questioned for his thoughts, when no Practice can be charged against him. Replied Sir George, *you are a Bruit to talk at that Rate, you know not the Laws of the Kingdom.* Ans. My Lords, I hope you are so much Men, and so much Generous

and Justice, as not to take advantage of a poor Man, for his Ignorance of your Laws. My Innocency makes me confident. Repl. *You shall have Justice.* And then several gave in their Word that I cannot particularly Remember. Ans. my Lords, I hope you will take so much Cognizance of the King's Charge against me at London, which was high Treason, as not to balk it, without instructing and making Proof of it. Repl. *We fear it shall be too soon proved.* Ans. That way can never prove it, by extorting my Thoughts of things. Repl. *The Laws and Acts of Parliament reach Mens Thoughts, and obliges all Subjects to give an account of them about such things.* Ans. I know no such Laws. Then Order was given to the Clerk to read the Acts of Parliament, who turned over, and could not find the Act; then began to read an Act, which was told him was not it; then he went to another, and read it, which did help much to confirm and establish my averration to Answer affirmatively to that Question, of owning the present Authority. It gave an account, *That whereas in the late Troubles, before the King's Restauration (meaning in the Time of the Prosperity of the Work of Reformation) People were led into seditious Practices, by having such Rebellious Principles disseminated among them; Namely, That it was lawful to rise in Arms against the King! To come with their Petitions and Representations of Grievances to him, to Suspend their Allegiance and Owning the King's Authority, under such and such Limitations, until he give Security for Religion and Liberty, &c. (With many other Laudable and Excellent Principles of our Fore-fathers) Be it therefore Enacted, that all such Positions and Practices founded thereupon are Treasonable, &c.* Mark that, said Sir George. Ans. It does not concern me, for it speaks of Positions, when declared, not of Thoughts. They laid down the Book and gave it over. Sir George said, *Its folly to Prattle with him, in his Metaphysical Notions.* Then said he, *did you ever see any Converted of th's way?* I was silent. then they urged the Question again, which I waved. Well, said Sir George, *you must be ready against to Morrow at Twelve a Clock to Answer here.* You said before, *I must appear on Wednesday.* Replied the Lords, *Well, let it be on Wednesday, we will give you Time.* Ans. When you will, *I beg no Time.* Then they would have dismissed me; but said I, before I go, I would be resolved of the Genuine Sense, you put upon the Question of owning Authority; it may contribute much for your Exoneration and my Information. Repl. Let the Advocat give it. Sir George then said, *you must own the King to be lawful King by Succession, &c.* Ans. The Reason of my Enquiry is, because when I was before the Lords of the Council, they were pleased to put three different Senses upon it; one was, *That I should own it unlawful on any Pretence to rise in Arms, &c.* Another was, *To Swear the Oath of Allegiance.* A third was, *To own his actual Possession by Succession,*

to the Throne of his Ancestors. This last *I* owned, and indeed *I* think it capable of ambiguous Senses. And so *I* repeated what *I* had said before at the Council, in distinguishing between the Administration of the Authority and the Right to it ; and of owning between Passive Subjection, and Conscientious Acknowledgement of *Allegiance*, as required. Sir George said, *Neither do we own all the Administrations.* Ans. Neither do *I*. But *I* understand, severals have died upon this Head, being urged with such a Question about owning Authority ; and it is evident to all Men by their Answers, that it was never charged to them, but that they meant the Administration of the Authority, as now Established, for they offered such Limitations, *As in the LORD; and, according to the Word,* which your selves cannot deny, and yet their Lives were taken. *I* do not remember any thing they Answered to this. But urged, *what say you to his Right ?* Ans. *I* came not to dispute his Right. Then they commanded, *Take him away.* *I* concluded with this ; My Lords, *I* have been grieved several times, to hear such Reflections on the Severity of the *Scotch Laws*, and the intollerable Grievances of your Prosecutions, without all Precedent ; and *I* hope you will not in your proceedings with me, be Ambitious to deserve that Character. Then they houted at me, and going away, *I* Spoke with a loud Voice back again, you were Reflected on at *London*, in *Guild-hall*. Then they called me back and asked by whom? Ans. By the Recorder of *London*. Q. *What is his Name ?* A. Sir Thomas Jenner. Replied Sir George, *He is a Rascal.* But what said he ? Ans. He said, Inveighing against us, that the Severity of our Laws, made us flee our Country ; for there they could Extort by Torture, any thing without Proof, but now we came to abuse their Mild Laws. At which they were divided in putting several Constructions on the Sence of his Words. And so with a Re-injunction to me, to consider the Paper against *Wednesday*. They urged me to be taken out, and thereafter when the rest were all Examined, *I* was carried back to Prison.

From the Iron-Horse in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh this was written.

Albeit *I* cannot transcribe these Accounts, without blushing at my own Folly and Imperfections, therein very obviously apparent, yet *I* cannot but reflect on the Mercy of the LORD's holy and wise Conduct, that *I* miscarried not worse, and was not yet left to be caught in these cunningly covered Hooks, that *I* was then nibbling and biting at : Nay further, *I* must needs say, to the Commendation of Free Grace, of which *I* had then some sensible Experience (though alas ! quickly afterwards *I* miscarried, forgot and miserably misimproved these little Experiences, by distrusting the LORD, and leaning to my own blind Understanding.) that far beyond my own preconceived Advise-
ments

ments and Premeditations, I was led to speak these things, though in themselves simple, yet serving then to put by Snares, and Tentrations in that Hour: And further I dare not but say, That as through Grace I was made to hope in that Promise, of giving in that Hour what to say: So it was in some Measure fulfilled; for I had thought on many Things to say; but was carried by all of them unto the foresaid Discourse, which before I did not dream of; this I take Notice of by the way, to aggregate my future Fainting: Yet I have much the same Reflections on this, that I have declared on the former. And particularly (1.) I observe, That though there may be Virtue in a dexterous putting by of Snares, where there is Hope thereby to elude them; yet it is sometimes dangerous, to seek a Delay of Time, when there can be no Prospect of avoiding them; for thereby we but animate them into a Keenness to impose, and encourage them in Expectation of catching, and invite them to contrive their Snares, and prepare them for us with the greater Cunning. And so I think my complaining of want of Time to deliberate, &c. was but a preposterous shifting. It had been more honourable for the Cause, and more honest-like, and possibly more conducing to my own Safety and Peace, to have offered roundly, as the Lord would assist, an open hearted and generous Declaration of my Mind about these Points, and to have shown that I was (as I should have been always) ready to give a Reason of my Hope, to every Man that would ask it, with Meekness and Fear, having a good Conscience; that whereas they speak evil of us, as of Evil-doers (by these Aspersions wherewith they brand us, as maintaining dangerous Principles, and justifying unwarrantable Practices, and the like) they might have been put to Shame, that falsely accuse our good Conversation in CHRIST. (2.) I think it was some Diversion from the Gospel Simplicity, and the Dove's Innocency (the Beauty of Sufferers) and no great Wisdom in me, to pretend Ignorance of that which I knew; to wit, that Declaration. It's true I did neither affirm nor deny, that I had seen it; but that I had not seen that Pass or Testificate, which they ignorantly tendered to me: Yet I pretended want of Advise ment, and took their Papers from them, which they offered for my Information, thereby I gave them Ground of schooling me better, and involving myself needlessly in further Debates and Snares, which I found in the Consequence afterwards. I will not say, it is in it self sinful, to conceal our Knowledge; but I think in my Circumstances then, I should have given a more ingenuous Discovery of my Knowledge. (3.) I think, I should have more zealously adhered to that Principle, I was pleading, The Freedom of Thought, subject to no such Tribunal as theirs was, being the Almighty's Prerogative alone, to know Thoughts, and to pass a Judgment

ment on Thoughts, which then I was obliged to witness far more strenuously, when publickly it was denied in open Court to be his Prerogative, which was horrid Blasphemy. This was a shameful Omission, that I cannot pass without Indignation. (4th.) I cannot omit here a Reflection, which had I kept in Mind afterwards, I would have been more awfully deterred from tampering with that Snare, which shortly thereafter I fell into, and my Unmindfulness of it, does much magnifie the Sense of the Guilt of that Compliance, which is this; That I might have been informed how they construct of a Man's taking the Oath of *Abjuration*; for it was told me plainly, That the meaning, was to *abjure that Declaration, and thereby to own and swear, that I should never rise in Arms against the King*; by which it is plain, that in either Sense, the taking of that Oath, is an interpretative declaring not to rise, or that it ought not to be done. Again afterwards it was urged, *That by the Law of all Nations, when there is any War declared against the King, all Subjects are to declare whom they are for; and if they will not declare for him, and disown the Rebels, then they are to be reputed as his Enemies*: By which it appears, that they take the Abjuring of that Declaration (in this Juncture) to be a *Declaring for the King*; which in the present State of Affairs, is a most dreadful owning CHRIST'S Enemies, and concerting his Quarrel, and stated Opposition against all Righteousness; and this *Abjuration* is tendered as a *Test of our Incorporating our selves with this perjured, perfidious Partie, and formally declaring our selves for their Head, and siding with them and him*. And they take it also to be a disowning of, and renouncing our Part in, and among a poor Remnant of the LORD'S People, persecuted and murdered by them, for Truth and Conscience sake. Now an Oath must be taken in the Imposers Sense, and as they discover their Sense and Sentiments of it, and not according to the meaning we may think the Words capable of; nor yet according to the wheedling Explanations, that they may give or allow, which were as deceitful and ensnaring as the Oath it self. I insert this to infix the Shame of my after-Deed, upon my self. Before I shut up this, I cannot forget that Passage of telling them, of the Recorder of London his Invective against the Severity of their Proceedings, and the Return I had thereupon. I remember I wrote this to my Friends in London, who conveyed it to the Recorder's Ears, that the King's Advocate had called him a *Rascal*, upon that Occasion before hinted. And as I received information from them again, the Recorder upon hearing of this, called the Advocate a *Knave*, which was a fair Reckoning, and not much besides the Truth on either Hand.

From the Monday until Wednesday, I remained in the Iron-House, preparing my self (as I thought and aimed) for the worst of it, expecting that

that Week should be the last on this Side of Time ; but the Number of my Months was not yet fulfilled, nor the Measure of my sinning and suffering, which since ensued. The LORD did not think me worthy of so honourable a Demission at that Time, nor after that Manner, as I was then looking for ; and indeed (I may say) hoping, rather than fearing : But I behoved to get further Discoveries of my Weakness, Folly and Faintness, which followed upon this, which now I am about to relate.

My second Examination before the Justiciary, March 25th. 1685.

THis Day the 25th of this instant March 1685, I was before the *Justicie*, or *Criminal Court* the second Time ; upon which, because some unexpected Changes in my Lot did ensue, which may make some desirous to know the Cause of them ; Therefore to all concerned I would offer this rude (but true) *Representation* of the most material Passages of that Affair, and how it came to this Period, wherein yet I stand, and remain a living Man ; but as *one free among the dead*, who cannot reckon like *Agag*, that *the Bitterness of Death is past*, seeing I think, the Bitterness of my Life is but now begun : And as for this new Lease of it, granted by such Land-lords, disposing of our Clay-Cottages, and in such a Manner ; it requires an Apology, rather than a Congratulation. I think it a Misery to out-live the Comforts of Life, and a Shame to hold it of their Favour, who seek it ; and yet I could not but then think it a Sin, to let it go for their Pleasure, upon Terms, wherein (as I then thought) I could not find Matter for an honourable Testimony. My Enemies deceitful Yeildings did prevent me of the Occasion of it ; and CHRIST did not think me worthy of the Honour of it, nor fit to partake of the Happiness of it. And what shall I say ? Here I am yet *dwelling in Mehech, and in the Tents of Kedar*, as a discountred and discarded Servant of my lovely LORD ; yet ambitious to be his Servant and Sufferer, though unworthy to be a Witness. Both before and after I came to *Edinburgh-Tolbooth*, I have both feared and hoped, that I should have been in Eternity, or near it by this Time ; my Friends expected it, my Enemies threatned it ; yet, here I am still : And how this came to pass, I will now shortly declare, so far as my Memory, now more confused than ever, can gather or glean of the chief and most important Passages of the whole *Transaction*.

When I was last before the Justiciary, having a Delay granted to consider that Paper, which I was called to abjure, they gave me the *Proclamation* concerning it, instead of the *Declaration* it self, which I did not notice in Presence, but afterward I did read it over ; and thought it would be required I should give my Sentiments of it, which therefore I set

set down in the Margin of the foresaid Proclamation as follows: Upon the Title, *A late Treasonable Declaration, &c.* I do disown all treasonable Declarations, and all horrid Principles of Assassinations. But I humbly conceive this is not sufficient to extort from me an explicate Confession of the Treasonableness or Horridness of that Declaration, which here is not expressed. Your Lordships Testimony may found the Historical Faith of it, as other Representations of Matters of Fact, but the implicate Faith of it cannot be a Bottom to my Conscience, till I understand it better: For as much as several insulents, &c. who these Rebels ate, under such Epithets, I know not. I am none of them; but in all the Proclamations I have yet seen against *Professing Dissenters*, the same Character hath been put upon many really Goodly in the Land; I know not but these may be of the same Sort. Having frequently refused the Offers, &c. I know not what Offers of Clemency they have refused; I have refused none as yet; if your Lordships mean the Oath of Allegiance, in the Terms and Sense now imposed, or the Bonds obliging to hear Curates, or these absolute and indefinite Engagements to abandon the Privilege of Defensive Arms; or if your Lordships do reflect upon some People, their discountenancing the then tendered, but now interdicted Indulgence, by Vertue of the King's Ecclesiastick Supremacy, or their refusing the late Test (which are all the Favours I have heard of) I ingenuously confess, I would have scrupled them my self. But next, if they have disowned Authority, or declared War in the Sense here narrated, or upon Principles inconsistent with all Government, or if they make such inferences, as are here specified; I do disown them and it both. But if it be founded upon such Principles as some times Declarations have been stated upon by our first Reformers, in Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties; or that carried on by our Fathers in Prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant, or these Appearances that have been made upon the same Principles, at *Pentland* and *Bothwell*, I confess ingenuously, I must demur the disowning of it till I be better informed. And the Principles &c. If these be the Principles herein specified in this Proclamation, I do disown them absolutely: Or if they be Principles, whereon such Assassinations are founded, I do disown it complexly. But as for all the Principles therein specified, I do not know but there may be some there, which I must own. These *Animadversions*, I had as fully determined to have given into the Justiciary, as ever I resolved any thing; but Providence ordered otherwise: For about 11 a Clock the foresaid Day, March 25, I was hastily called down from the Iron-House to the Hall of the Tolbooth, to a Conference with Sir William Paterson, and going down in Haste, I forgot the Papers: And after the Conference was ended,

I was kept in the Hall; till I was sent to the *Judiciary*, not having Time to go up again for the *Proclamation* with my Notes upon it.

The Purport of my Conference with Sir William Paterson, Clerk of the Council was to this effect.

BECAUSE he had been my *Regent* at the College of *Edinburgh*, he first accosted me with Complements, about his Respect to me and Opinion of me, and entred upon some common Discourse about my Travels; then asked why I left *Scotland*? Answered, To improve my self, and because I had no Encouragement to stay in it. Q. Are you in Orders? I am a Preacher. Q. Where received you your Mission, from the Ministers in *Holland*? A. No, but at *London*. Q. Is it true that you own such strange Principles about the Government, I am heartily sorry, said he, you should throw away your self at that Rate, being a young Man? A. I own no Principles about Government, but such as are consistent with Policy, Reason, and Religion. Replied, You was not of that Opinion you are of, when you was my Scholar? A. I believe I was partly, so far as I was capable; you gave me the first Rudiments of it. Replied, You learned no such thing in my Dictats, you remember the beginning of my *Ethicks*? A. I remember them very well, though it be long since; I read them, and I should be content to have any Principles I have about Government tryed by your own Dictats; you speak well there of Monarchy, and I think well of it. Replied, well then, I hope you will own the Authority of the King? A. I have demurred to answer this hitherto: Partly, because I would fain keep all the freedom I have, that is only that of my Mind. Its hard that I cannot keep that: I desire not to trouble the World much with these things, if they would let me alone: And partly, because I have had Three or Four Senses put upon the Question already, which I told him, and asked, Pray Sir, what Sense do you put upon it? Replied, Do you own him as your Sovereign Lord, under GOD, whom you must obey in all things Lawful? A. I am not charged with any Disobedience, and now I am passively Subject to his Jurisdiction. Q. But is not he your Sovereign Lord and King under GOD? A. Whom GOD appoints, and the People choose and set over us, according to the Laws of the Land, his Authority I own. Reply. There is no Choosing in Hereditary Monarchies, as this is by undoubted Succession? A. I meddle not with that; I believe this Man hath as much Right as Lineal Succession can give him; but yet I think if the Representatives had Chosen *James Duke of Monmouth*, I should not have quarrelled with it, no more than with the other; I do not think Lineal Succession is enough to make a Man a King. Replied, You had need to have a care what you say. A. I do; for first he must be Proclaimed and then Crowned. Replied, Proclaiming is only a Declaration

n of what he is, and Coronation is only a Royal Ceremonie. A. Is the Oath he takes, or should take at it, only a Royal Ceremony too? Replyed, That's only a Custom sometimes omitted, it does oblige the Conscience, but who can oblige him to it, or call him to an Account for it? A. I think its never to be omitted. For that's all the Security we can have for all our Valuable Interests; and except Security be given for Religion and Liberties, for my own part, I would never give my Consent if required, Passive Submission is enough for me. Reply, *No Limitations are to be put to Kings; they are GOD's Vicegerents?* A. And GOD hath restricted all his Vicegerents in the Word, see *Rom. 13. &c.* Reply, *You own King James the seventh to be GOD's Vicegerent?* A. Let him be made King first by his solemn Inauguration, on Terms consistent with Religion and Liberties. Reply, *You speak of making Kings; that's not right.* A. Its a Scripture Expression, I hope Scripture is no Treason yet. Reply, *No, God forbid; but where find you it in Scripture?* A. In that both *Saul* and *David* were made Kings. Reply, *That was not in Hereditarie Succession; when it came to that they did not so?* A. Yes, even then too; as in *Rehoboam's* case; they would enter in Terms with him first, and so in *J. a. b. &c.* Reply, *I am sorry for you.* And then made solemn Protestations he would never wrong me, but these were dangerous things: Then said, he wondered that a Man that had seen so much of the World should entertain such Notions? A. I have seen nothing in the World, that needs to make me loth to part with it, when it comes in Competition with Truth? Replyed, *What is Truth? are such things necessarie for Salvation?* A. No, not as Fundamentals: But it may be necessary for my Salvation, not to go against what Measure of Light the LORD hath given me, as to these things: Replyed, *That's like a Quaker, to make Conscience the Rule.* A. I make it not the Rule Ruling, though it be the Rule ruled, I would regulate it by Scripture. Replyed, *These are only Circumstantials in Religion not to be suffered for?* A. Are only Fundamentals to be suffered for? I thought every Truth or Duty should be preferred to all things we can lose for them; and as for Circumstantials in Religion, I do not know what you call so, except they be in things indifferent, which we are not speaking about. Several other things passed, as about my being at *Boitwel*, which he solemnly Protested he would never reveal. But I answered it must be proved, I remember; I asked, if he came by Order to Examine me; No, said he, with the same Affirmations, but that he came Voluntarily, to Confer with and inform me. Before he had done, Mr. *Gordon* the Clerk of the Justiciary, came in, and would resume the Discourse, I told him I was not free to Discourse in anything, but in *Theft*. In the mean Time, I remember one came in, and

and told me (his Name was *Campbel*) I might tell him 'any thing, and freely acquaint him, whether I was at *Bothwell* or not. I could say nothing, but Laugh at his impertinency. Then he fell upon the Head of Defensive Arms, which they first granted was Lawful against all but the King; yet in prosecuting of it, I had the Concession of both the Clerks, that in some cases it was Lawful for a Man to defend himself against the King, when coming to Kill him with his own Hand. Then they fell upon *Renouncing the Declaration*, which I told I behoved to see first, before I could say any thing to it. Then the Clerk *Gordon*, told me he had the Opinion of the Lords, that if I would not answer to it upon Oath, I should Die, and that was Law enough for I had put him in mind, that he could not find an Act of Parliament for it, the other Day, so they departed.

Thereafter I was much troubled and tempted with my Relations, who kept me there in the Hall till I was called about Twelve a Clock, the Good-man of the Tolbooth being also present; I was told, nothing would be put to me that Day, but the Declaration, and therefore they urged me to Sign a Petition to Sir *George M'kenzie* for a Delay, and a Sight of the Paper, which I would in no ways condescend unto; but after being tempted with many importunities; I wrote to him to the Effect following.

MY Lord, *having very little Time, in this haste and hurrie, to deliberate upon a Matter of such Consequence, as that now incumbent upon me, to give my Sentiments about that Declaration; And having only seen the King's Proclamation about it, I do humbly conceive it would be much more satisfactory, and contributing to my clearing to see the Paper it self: Which I do desire, and Time to consider it.*

At Conclusion of this Line, I was called presently before the Justiciary, who began to tell me, I had now received extraordinary Favours, and more time than ever was allowed any, and *Protested* (all of them speaking) *they would be as tender of my Blood as of their Souls.* I answered, I desired to be tender of it too; but there was other interests more valuable, Conscience and Duty; Then they proceeded to ask. *Q. Will you disown that Declaration, and you shall be Liberate presentlie.* A. *I can disown nothing implicitly before I see it, and understand it. Rep. You have had it to consider upon.* A. *I have not had it; I have had the Proclamation about it, but not it self.* Q. *Is not that enough?* A. *No, it speaks of a Treasonable Declaration; but this is only a Narrative of such a Matter of Fact, but the implicate Faith of this cannot be a sufficient Salve to my Conscience, to disown it, before I see it.* Q. *Will you take the liberty there insert in the words, bearing such a sense That you abhorre such Position,*

tons of Assassinations and declaring War? A. My Lords, I will make this Overture; That if a War be declared, in the Sense related in the Proclamation or upon, such Principles, and bearing such inferences there specified, I do disown it. Repl. *It is satisfactory. Will you therefore take the Oath in the Proclamation in these Terms?* A. No: I must see the thing it self first. Then Orders were given to the Clerk to read it distinctly, who read it from the Beginning to the End, and some of it I caused him to read twice over. When it was done, then it was asked, *What do you think of it now?* A. It seems to be emitted by a Party in great Calamity and Distress, by Oppression and rigorous Prosecution of Laws, and putting an Aw upon their Informers, by threatening to fall upon such Methods, which they think are the only Means they have to defend themselves. I do not think, That it imports such things as are represented in the Proclamation. They declare they abhor Assassinations, and all personal Attempts upon any. They speak of the Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties; and they declare for a resolved adherence to all former Faithful Declarations: I cannot disown all these, I cannot disown the Covenant and Work of Reformation, it speaks of it. I will never disown these Principles. Then there was a Noise in the House, many crying out, he is a Gone-Man: Yea, the Justice General rose up and said, *We will Speak no more to him.* The Advocat said, *We will not bid you disown these Principles; Renounce it only IN SO FAR AS, declares War, and asserts it lawful to Kill ~~any~~ employed by the King in his Service.* A. I cannot disown the Declaration: I see no such things in it. Repl. *We will not bid you disown the Declaration. Disown it only IN SO FAR AS, it declares War against the King, and asserts it lawful to kill, &c.* A. That's the Scope of the whole, to adhere to former Declarations, and to treat and repute as Enemies all that stretch forth their Hand against them, or are their engaged Opposers. Repl. *We will not meddle with what is the Scope of it. Will you abstractly from the Declaration, disown IN SO FAR AS, it declares such things?* A. I will abstractly from the Declaration disown all Papers; that declare such things as the Proclamation discharges. Repl. *Then you must take the Oath in the Proclamation.* At which I was silent, only I was going to say, *In that Sense.* Then they told me, They would give me one Day more to consider upon it, and be well advised. Then Sir G. M^kenzie asked the Keepers there present, where I lay in the Prison? It was answered, in the Iron-House. It is the worfe of that, said he, We will send him to the Indulged Ministers, among honest Men and good Company. When they dismissed, several of the Lords spoke to me, and bad me be tender of my Life, take Advice: The Advocate, said they, is a Man that can give a good Advice. Then said Sir George himself

himself, Mr. Shields, if you desire it, I am willing to confer with you, when you please you shall be sent for. I answered, I am at command, being a Prisoner, when he pleases I will come. So I was taken to the western Gallery in the Tolbooth. Here I was beginning to slide, and look over the Precipice, which the Day following was punished with a Slip, and being left to follow my Look, I had forgot the Danger of my too near Approach formerly, by nibbling at Equivocations, and ensnaring Shifts, and seeking Advise-ments; a shameful thing in a resolved Sufferer. And now I reaped the Fruits of these further involvements in Tamperings with them. Yet O how tender was the LORD, and compassionate in every Step of his Conduct? I can never enough admire and celebrate his Mercy, both in preventing my Precipitations, in restraining me from running the full Career of a base Compliance, in bridling Mens Cruelty, and sparing my Life. The sudden Haste of my Call down to the Hall in the Morning, as it occasioned my Confusions, and exposed me to Tentations unarmed; for I had not Time to put on my Armour that Morning, having scarce Leisure to commend my self to my Captain's Conduct by Prayer, not expecting to be called upon so soon; but this was my Sin, and what followed was the just Punishment of that Omission; so I should have prevented the Dawning, and by times have taken warning; for it was no Surprisal: So it contributed to the saving of my Life, in all Appearance; for if I had had Time to have prepared my self as I intended, and taken those Reflections, I had noted on the Margin of the Proclamation, before declared, in all Probability I would have incensed their Fury into a more desperate Conclusion; but I thought afterwards, and do think still, it was a Forgetfulness prejudicial to my Peace, tho' in Appearance, contributing to my Preservation; for it might have precluded and prevented the sad Sins and Snares, that I afterwards fell into; but the LORD would have me humbled: But upon the preceding Conference, I reflected, 1st. That my freedom with Sir William Paterson in such Circumstances, upon such slender Grounds of Confidence as his Assurances, or supposed Generosity, cannot be justified from silly and imprudent Credulity; nor on the other Hand compared therewith, my shifts and quibbles before the Justiciary, be purged from fainting-unfaithfulness and ir-resolution. But the Cause of them was, that I never took the Right Prospect of them, nor looked upon them under a Right Notion, as stated there in opposition to CHRIST, and only consulting to bring a Man down from his Excellency; which is a great advantage for a Sufferer to have and bear in Mind; for that only will most effectually restrain him from Tampering with them, and from Entertaining or Prosecuting any Discourse, but what is suitable to Speak to CHRIST'S Enemies. 2. I cannot but reflect on my silly Facile Humour, that was so

plyable to my Friends impertinent Importunities, involving me into that Address to Sir George Mackenzie, for a shifting delay, under the pretence of want of satisfaction and clearing, which was but a disingenuous Prevaricating, and a pretending a doubt, where there was none; and besides it was fardred over with flattery, giving him the Title of *my Lord*, an Honour as unusual to him, as a Jewel on a Sow's Snout, being only acquired for his serving a Wicked Interest. This was the first time I had called him so, which afterwards became habitual to me; yet all this flattering and prevaricating did not avail, for the desire was not granted, being scarce delivered, before I appeared at Court, and then I behoved to give my Thoughts as they came in readiness. However, I got here some Experience, of the Danger and Hurt of Friends insinuations and preposterous Officiousness, tho' proceeding out of Love, which oftentimes puts a Blind on Conscience; and from this I have been sometimes made to desire, that if ever I were again brought on such a Tryal, I were forsaken of my Friends, and were left altogether on CHRIST's Hands, for that were a great Advantage. 3. I was hooked with that Overture I made, of disowning that Declaration, upon that Supposition, *That if it did contain such Principles, and might bear such Inferences, as are inserted in the Proclamation, I would disown it*; which did exceedingly animate their hopes of prevailing and enveigling me further, which accordingly did succeed. It's Dangerous to hearken to their Overtures; but far more hurtful and hateful to propound Overtures to them; for they interpret it a ceding and giving Ground; and when they see a Man beginning to yield, then they will not stick to be very condescending, and seeming to accept of a little at first, that they may draw him on to more, like cunning Anglers, some times recoyling back the well baited and busked Hook, to invite the Poor unwary Fish to Pursue, and sometimes letting it run away with the Hook, when it begins to bite kindly, so dealt the cunning Hooksters with me. The first Motion of the Overture was declared Satisfactory, and interpreted an indirect Approbation of their Proclamation, and a disowning of every thing Contradictory thereto; which I think indeed followed very consequently; for tho' it may be sustained in the Abstract, that we may & must renounce such Declarations, founded on Principles inconsistent with Government, and bearing such Inferences, as are specified in that Proclamation; yet in the Concret, considering what they mean by Government, and what sort of a Society that is, the security whereof is infringed by that Declaration, and what is the scope of the Narrative, a renouncing of a Paper, contradictory thereto, must be in so far a tacite Approbation of that Proclamation. Besides, what gained I by that Overture? Or what could I expect by it, if it were not to strike Cream in their Mouths, a

base design and not succeeding. 4. I observe from that Character, they gave to the Indulged Ministers, to whom they sent me to be Documented in their Court-Principles, making use of them as their Clerks. 1st That by their own Confession, they Oppress and Imprison some *Honest Men and well Principled*: Next, we see who are *Honest Men* in their Reasoning, who will serve their designs, which is no great Credit to the Indulged, to get such Praise from their Mouth upon such an account.

When I came into the Room where the Indulged were, I told them how I was sent there to be Documented; and accordingly, after a little Refreshment, they fell to their Task, and Discoursed as Loyally as Learnedly upon the *Question of Authority* and upon the *Abjuration*, very earnestly pressing the taking of it, alledging that it was not a disowning of the Declaration *Simpliciter*, but only *Secundum quid*, nor *Formally*, but *Conditionally*, taking and confounding, *IN SO FAR AS, For IF SO BE*, that it was only a declaring or Abhorring of Murdering Principles, which no Christian could refuse; and as for declaring War against the King, they said, this was always denyed by Presbyterians, that ever they declared War against the King, but only for Defence of their Lives and Liberties, &c. Neither would it infer a renouncing all Declarations against the King (which I observed) but only this, *In so far, &c.* What sad and various Disputes, Snares and Tentations, I had among them, and how grievous and wounding to my Spirit, I cannot find Words to express; however at Night I had some Breathing, and continued most part of it Waking, and Thinking and Resolving, and crying, as I could win at it, to be resolved, what to do next Day.

My Third Appearance before the Justiciary, in which I took the Oath of Abjuration, March 26th. 1685.

NOW the Day came of my fatal Fall, the just desert of my former Blind and Bold Approaches, to the Brink of these Precipices, which I had been looking over before, and now was left to follow my Look. I shall not go about to make any Apology for my Foolish Faintness; only adoring the LORD's Mercy and Tenderneſs, that I did not break my Neck: I shall give a true, short and impartial Account of the way of it, making it neither better nor worse, than it was in Matter of Fact. The Night before, among many other Rovings, which kept me waking all Night almost, I fell a Sleep with a Resolution, that (next Morning) conceived and brought forth an unhappy Birth, the maintaining of which, did occasion the loss of my Integrity, which was this; I considered that the Contest betwixt the Justiciary and me the preceeding Day, was for me, in four respects, against my self, they seeming to be resolved to save me, and I as it were determined not to be saved.

saved by them. This I thought to be very strange, and therefore in the Morning I began to think on a Sense of Accommodation, taking the Words abstractly, not to disown the Declaration at all (as I bribed my self to think) but only that pretended one, specifying such Assertions, the Minut of which I drew up in these Words, and at my Appearance, gave it in, in this Form.

My Lords; *Upon as serious and mature Deliberation, as my disordered Mind could be capable of, in this hurry and surprise: Consulting both the Declaration it self, that I am commanded to give my insignificant Sentiments of, and consulting His Majesty's Proclamation, to find out that which is offensive to your Lordships in it; advising also with the Opinion of the Lords of the Council and Session, upon refusing to Answer when questioned about it: The result of my Thoughts is, in the Sincerity of an unfeigned Conscience, and in the fear of GOD, that I do abhor renounce and disown that and all other Declarations, IN SO FAR AS, that, or they do declare War against the King expressly, proposedly or designedly, and asserts, that it is lawful to Kill all that are employed by His Majesty, or any because so employed in Church, State, Army or Country.* Thus I thought to solve the Matter by a quibble and nice Distinction, thinking that the Words might bear such a Construction, and that this was not a disowning of that; nor no Declaration which ever I saw, (save one of their pretending) nor that neither, but only IN SO FAR AS, or IF SO BE, it import such things, as I was Schooled, to confound these very different Expressions by the Indulged; for that Declaration I was required to Abjure as I took it, does not declare War against the King expressly, purposely and designedly as King, but only against *Charles Stuart*, by them declared to be no King, who set forth the Declaration; neither did ever any declare War against the King, whom they Professedly owned both as their King and their Enemy, in so doing as King; neither did I ever hear of any that did assert it lawful to Kill all employed in his Service, because so employed; this did induce me to think the Matter abstractly lawful, and so I went on with this Device, carrying the Minut along with me. Thereafter about Twelve of the Clock this Day *March the 26th.* I was carried before the Justiciary. When I came there, I found a Sick-man Pannelled before me, who took the Oath of *Abjuration and Allegiance.* Then the Lords all pointed with the Finger at me, saying, *You see what this Poor Honest Man does,* so they set him at Liberty: Then the Advocate coming in, said to me, *Now there was no other Evasion for me, but to Answer.* I answered, I had but one Interest in the World left next my Life, that was the freedom of my Thoughts; but when that comes in Competition with Life, then I must Surrender the one to preserve the other; but there is one yet, which I prefer to both, that is Conscience; to preserve which inviol-

inviolable, I must both have Understanding my self, and there must be a good Understanding betwixt your Lordships and me, in the thing imposed upon me; and therefore lest I should Hesitate in the Words, because I have not a Faculty of prompt speaking, I do give in the Sense, in which I will Subscribe to that Oath in the Proclamation; and so gave in the foresaid Minut. When they Read it, they said it was Satisfactory, and so they gave it about from Hand to Hand, and then required me to hold up my Hand. I answered, I did not say I would Swear, there is a difference betwixt Abjuring and Renouncing. They Replyed, *They could come no lower down, I must do that, or be reputed Guilty*. I answered, I could not Swear in that manner, I had heard the other Man do, for then I must follow in Suspence the Manuduction of the Clerk, who might put in Words, that I could not admit of. Then they told me they would write it down to me, which they did in this manner: *I do Abjure, Renounce and Abhor, that Traiterous and Treasonable Paper, called the Apologetical Declaration, in so far as it declares War against the King, and asserts, &c.* I answered, I would not Subscribe that. Then said they, what will you do then? I answered, let me see the Proclamation, which done, then said I, write these Words out of it, *I do Abhor, Renounce and Disown in the Presence of GOD, that pretended Declaration, in so far as it declares War against the King; and Asserts, that it's lawful to Kill all-impoyed by Him in Church, State, Army or Country; which was done by the Clerk, and presented to me with a Pen.* Then Protesting it might not be constructed in any other Sense, than the Genuine meaning of the Words I had delivered in the above written Minut, I did Subscribe it and Swear it. That which did induce me to it was, that they gave it in my own meaning. After I had done, one that sat next, said to me, *I had done like a Gentleman*; which Words gave my Heart a knell, and I answered very contoundedly, *if I have not done like a Christian too, it is all wrong.* Yes said he like a Christian too. Thereafter I pleaded for my Liberty, according to their Promise. They replyed, *I was free now for them, they had no more to do with me; but I was the Councils Prisoner still.* Then when all was done, I Protested, that this which I had done might not be reckoned a Compliance for Fear of my Life, but in vain, then I was sent back to my old (now more than ever weary) Prison, and taken to the Western Gallery. My resenting of this foolish, unfaithful and dishonourable Step of Compliance, so dishonourable to CHRIST, and derogatory to the Day's Testimony, so Contradictory to the many reiterated Confessions of Christ's Worthy, tho' Poor and Despised Witnesses, Sealed by their Blood and Bonds, and Banishments; so contrary to my former Resolutions and expressed Purposes, yea, and Admonitions and Exhortations to others, ne-

ver to Bargain or black Paper with these accursed Murderers, for encouraging and gratifying to the Enemies, for hardening to Backsliding Brethren, so offensive to the Generation of the Righteous, so *Struggling* to all; I cannot find words to express, nor Groans to bemoan it. Which considering my after-relapses after bitter Remorse, into sad slips afterwards, leaves such a Stain upon my Profession, as a Sufferer for Christ, that I cannot wipe off, and such a Sting upon my Conscience, that I shall never weep out. O how was I thus left of GOD in such Darkness and Confusion, that I now think I have been deprived of Reason as well as Conscience, in pleasing and blinding my self with such Non-sensical Notions and quibbling Evasions to mock GOD, deceive the Enemy, and delude my self! I wonder how I could be satisfied with that nicely distinguishing, betwixt *disowning that Declaration required to be Abjured, and that pretended one, specifying such Assertions.* For tho' all these Assertions cannot be fastened upon that *Apologetical Declaration*, but it is evident it is Invidiously Misrepresented; yet that same is the pretended one, which they require to be Abjured, *in so far as it asserts such things;* which is not a Supposition, nor yet a simple Restriction, as they would give it out. But an Assertion that such things are indeed imported in it. For if it might pass current under that Notion, as a Supposition, as being Equivalent to *IF SO BE,* then under that Sophistical pretext, I might Renounce the Covenant, nay, the most indisputed Confession or Declaration that ever was, in so far as it contains such things; and so this Equivocation might elude all Testimonies whatsoever, and all Prevarications might be hereby justified; yet this was the Sense of my patched Accommodations, which my base Fears and carnal Hopes did Bribe me to make, which *Insatiation* was the just reward of my be-taking my self to that Conceit of Wit, rather than depending on the LORD's Counsel; and the Dictates of a Reckant Conscience. O that I, and all such Forgers of Accommodations with such a Party, in Matters of Conscience, might take warning from this for the Future! I see not how any Accommodations can be Condescended upon, if we have right Thoughts of the Party with whom they are to be made, there can be no Conscientious Transaction with them; for it is plain to all that are not blinded with ignorance, or Partiality, or a judicial Stroke, that they are *such Sons of Belial as cannot be taken with Hands,* or by the Hand in any Bargain; *but the Man that shall touch them, must be sensed with Iron and the Staff of a Spear.* Or if we reflect upon the Matter upon which these Accommodations are to be offered, or accepted, they cannot be judged to be capable of any Accommodation; for they are not things upon which we may come and go at our Discretion, as we may do with our own Particulars, or with Problems to be Disputed, or with

guous Propositions capable of different Senses ; but Matters so and so Circumstantiate as do require the positive determined Judgment of the Conscience, Concerns of Truth and Falshood, Duty and Sin, which cannot admit of Accommodation, or Dispensation, or Reservation, or any other Sense, than the Imposers, and they that State their Inquisition about such things do own, and are observedly known to have and maintain about them ; Otherwise all other Forged Accommodations are but tampering Tricks, juggling with Juglers, deceiving the Deceivers, in such a way as does not well consist with the Simplicity of the Gospel, or the Dove's Innocencie : Neither will they be so easily deceived, for they will readily yeild to Accommodations, or any tolerable Sense that we can put upon their Snares, for they reckon that a yeilding in part, and are glad to find us so far justifying their Acts and Impositions, as by our offer practically to declare they may bear a good sense ; and they will come many ways to our Hand to get us hooked so. But next, As to that Non-sensical Accommodation, which I tendered to you, in my Minute above specified, I cannot reflect upon it without Shame and Sorrow, for it was Stuffed with many Absurdities. 1st. It exceedingly aggravates the Sin of that Compliance *that I declare therein, That I did it with Serious and Mature Deliberation, or as serious as my disordered Mind was capable of.* What? Did I not think it enough to comply out of Fear or other Perswasion in the Speat of Tentation, but do it deliberately, and not only do it deliberately, but declare and Attest so Solemnly my Deliberation : what a Horrid height of Hainousness does that amount to ? 2^{dly}, It does not a little aggrege it, that I say, *Consulting that Declaration it self, I disowned and Renounced it, IN SO FAR AS, &c.* And which was not only more than they seemed to bid me do the former Day, but plainly contrary to what I said before them, I would not do, and which can never be done in Conscience. 3^{dly}, I think it a baseness of the highest degree, that I confessed *that I did it out of Respect to his Majesty's Proclamation, to find out that which was offensive to their Lordships in the Declaration,* which hath a Mass of wickedness in it. For therein by that Expression I gave them to understand, that I approved of their wicked Proclamation and had respect to it, and that I judged the Narrative thereof a true Representation of that Declaration, which I always before denied ; and that I disowned, Renounced, and Abjured every thing in the Declaration offensive to them, that's no less than the whole of it ; and so the Covenants, and the Work of Reformation, and all the Testimonies of CHRIST's Worthies with one Blasphemous Breath. O dreadful to conceive ! 4^{ly}, I cannot but detest that most Brutish Cowardice, when I say, *I renounced it upon advising with the Opinion of the Lords of the Council and Session, about refusing to answer ;* This was

a declaring, that I was influenced by a regard to their Opinion and Fear of Death, which was a deliberate seeking to save my Life without Respect to Conscience, and also a Voluntary and deliberate abandoning of that Priviledge of the Liberty of Thoughts upon their Opinion. 5^{ly}, It does exceedingly aggravate the Sin, *that I pretended Sincerity of an unfeigned Conscience, in the Fear of GOD.* I will not say, but what I did was according to the Sentiment of a Blinded and Bribed Conscience for the Time, when I suffered my self to be Cheated with the Sophistry of the Snare; but all the Sincerity of it serves only to make it a sincerely pretended sin; and to make a pretext of the Fear of GOD, is but a Horrid Lie, and a dreadful mocking of GOD, for if I had that principally influencing me, I should have been more restrained from that Compliance. 6^{ly}, The Sense I put upon the Oath, *Disowning, Renouncing and abhorring, that & all other Declarations, IN SO FAR AS, that, or they do declare War against the King expressly, purposely or designedly, &c.* Is either Non-sence, or an abominable Prevarication; for if it have any sense, it Condemns not only the Declaration upon the Heads whereupon its Honesty and Faithfulness chiefly consists, but all other most Honest and Honourable Declarations that have been made and emitted by our Worthy and Renowned Ancestors, and by our Worthies in our own Time, who have Formally, Avowedly and explicitly, or expressly, purposely and designedly declared their Opposition to Tyranny and Tyrants, and their Lawful and Laudable Design, to Repress, Depress, and Suppress them, by all the Ways and Means that GOD and Nature, and the Laws of Nations allow; where they did *ipso jure* Depose and exaerate themselves from all Rule, or Privilege, or Prerogative of Rulers, and became no more *GOD's Ministers, but Beelzebub's Vice-gerents*, and Monsters to be exterminated out of the Society of Mankind; the honestest of all our Declarations of Defensive War, have always run in this Strain, and others insinuating more Preposterous Loyalty have been justly Taxed for Asserting the Interest of the Tyrant, the greatest Enemy of the Declarers, and principal Object of the declared War; which Disingenuous juggling and soisting in such Flattering and falsifying Distractions in the State of the Quarrel, hath rationally been thought one of the procuring Causes and Occasions of the Discomfiture of our Appearances for the Work of GOD, and Liberties of our Country. To all which I have given the Lie by my pitiful quibbling: Neither will these poor empty pretended Precisions save the Matter, *That that Declaration does not declare War against the King, under that Reduplication as their King, but only against Charles Stewart, For 1.* Then I Subscribed and Swore to a Lie in Abjuring it, so far as it did declare a thing which it did not declare, if that hold: 2. The Enemies impose the Abjuring and disowning

ing of it, *IN SO FAR AS it declares War against their King*, who had none other but *Charles Stewart* at that Time, who was the King in their Sense, & an Oath cannot be taken in any other sense, contradictory to the Imposers, even tho' by them allowed, without an unjustifiable Equivocation, which I was not so ingenuous as to explain. 3. Tho' he had been King, and had not committed such Acts of Tyranny, as might habitually denominate him a Tyrant, and Forefeit his Kingship; yet to repress his Arbitrariness and intolerable Enormities, and to Repel his unjust Violence, and reduce him to good Order, Subjects at least for their own Defence, may declare a War formally, purposely, expressly and designedly, against their own acknowledged King, this ought not to be in so far disowned; for then all our Declarations emitted during the whole Time of Prosecuting the Reformation, in Opposition to our King, would be disowned; and so with one dash I have unhappily, tacitly and indirectly, and consequently, disowned the whole Work of Reformation, and the way of carrying it on. The other Evasion for the other Branch of it, is superfluous & senseless, *That I abhorre it IN SO FAR AS, it asserts it Lawful to Kill all employed in the King's Service*, because so employed. For, 1. It asserts no such thing, neither for that Cause or any other, but expressly makes a Distinction between Persons under the Epithet of Bloody, Cruel, Murderers, &c. and these only. 2. The only Reason of their declared intent of prosecuting these whom they threaten to bring to Condign Punishment, is because they are so employed by the Tyrant, in such Service as shedding the Blood of innocents, and for their undertaking and following that employment, and so that's the very Reason for which they deserve to be killed; and therefore foolish, impertinent and very absurd to be alledged, as a Qualification of the Sense of that impious Oath.

When next I take a Review of my Discourse before the Justiciary, I think it like the Raving of a Man in an Ague, or rather like one deserted of the Lord; or like *Peter's* Discourse, as it may be supposed, when he sat by the *High Priest's* Fire-side; how full of Impertinence and unworthy Juggles! shewing, that many times when a Man forgoes his Conscience, he loseth the use of his Reason. So it fared with me. For 1. I think the *Prologue* of that *Tragedy* might have presignified to me, what a sad *Epilogue* it should have, and foreshewn what was like to be the Issue; for sure if I had had my Wits about me, I might have wisely discerned what was the Design of staging and bringing in that sick Man to take these Oaths, on purpose to shew me an Example, and tantalize me with the Sight of others Liberty, to make me bite the more eagerly at that Hook. 2. At my first opening my Mouth, I made a great Gap to make way to all that followed; for tho' I foolishly pretended a Caution of pre-

serving Conscience inviolable ; while in the mean-time I was cheating and wounding it cruelly, yet I made a base and silly Surrender of a Privilege, which I had aimed to plead for before ; and which in my Circumstances was preferable to my Life, on these Terms, that was *the Freedom of my Thoughts*, which there and then I voluntarily and professedly abandoned. 3. My Aversion from swearing in the Usual Formality ; I thought I had some Reason to object against that Blind Implicite way, and my scrupling the first, from the Oath tendered to me, were nothing but the Struggling of a Burdened and Stifled Conscience, faintly then whispering, as it could get leave, what afterward it more loudly challenged : For the very Offer of Swearing startled me, it being the very first Oath that ever I was required to take, at least, that ever I did swear : And swearing after that manner, hand over-head, as it were, repeating the Clerk's words without knowing what, than in a manner suitable to that grave and holy Action of Swearing, with uplifted hands to the Most High, (I tremble to mention it) seemed yet more odious ; and swearing and subscribing to that Form, as they gave at first, seemed worst of all ; because it was a clear Abjuration of that Declaration, as Traiterous and Treasonable, which I thought I would reserve, and would not do, nor was not required to do, as I was made to believe : But chiefly, because I thought it was not so congruously capable of that Sense and Accommodation, that I had devised and given in to them, which the other Form seemed to admit ; tho' indeed when I reflect upon it more soberly and seriously, I cannot see how it can quadrate with it more than the other ; for that pretended Declaration insert in the Proclamation, and that which they call Traiterous and Treasonable under the Express Denomination of the *Apologetical Declaration*, lately affixed upon the Church-Doors, is all one, and can noways be distinguished : But its usual for a guilty Son of *Adam*, to sow Fig-leaves. But when I look upon it in the Complex, under all its Fig-leaves, and all the Circumstances, Ceremonies, Senses and Accommodations, Plaistrings and Palliatings, wherewith it can be covered or coloured ; I am ashamed and confounded to look upon the shameful and sinful Nakedness of that Step of unjustifiable Compliance and Defection, my taking, swearing and subscribing that Abominable Oath of Abjuration.

I might aggravate my own Deed beyond the heinousness of others taking of it, from many particular Circumstances in my Compliance ; tho' these were by me first intended as Extenuations, yet now appearing under a more hellish hew and crimson Tincture, of a deeper Dye than if I had simply taken it without a Scruple ; for all these Scruples, Debates and *Objections against it*, my Overtures and Proposals about it, my Accommodation

modation and Sense that I offered, ate all but fowl Fairdings of and Compounding Transactions, and pitiful Priggings for a Base Compliance: But I have given some Detection of my Sentiments of these already, I shall content my self at present in giving some general Hints, in discovering the Iniquity of the Oath it self, which are weighting and wounding to me.

1. Considering the Party who set forth that Declaration, whom the Proclamation represents so odiously and invidiously, whom the Oath impon'd obliges us to condemn, as so represented; as if they were *Maintainers of Murdering Principles, and Perpetrators of Assassinating Villanies, inconsistent with Peace, or any good Government, and therefore to be exterminated and destroyed out of the Land*; whom therefore they prosecute and persecute so cruelly, to the Effusion of their Blood, under colour of Law. By my taking this Oath, I have formally, under my unhappy hand, disowned and renounced them, and all Part or Interest in them, or Society or Sympathy with them, whom yet I know and believe are the Suffering People of God, more earnestly contending, witnessing, wrestling for *the Faith, and Word of CHRIST's Patience*, and have suffered more for their Adherence to the Covenanted Reformation of the Church of *Scotland*, and for their Opposition to all its Deformations and Defections, than any Party within the Land; yet them have I rejected as my Companions, though with some of them I have had sweet Company and Communion, in the House of God, by abjuring and condemning their Deed, which Duty and Necessity drove them to: Hereby I have presumptuously taken upon me, to pass a Judgment upon the Deed of my Brethren before their murdering bloody Enemies, and that not a private discrete Judgment; but a publick definitive Sentence, in my Capacity, by the most Solemn Way of declaring it, that can be, by Oath and Subscription under my Hand; whereby I condemned all the sufferings of my Dear Brethren, who sealed their Testimony, in Opposition to this Compliance, with their Blood; and finished it with Honour and Joy, as foolish and frivolous Profusion of their own Blood: Nay, as just and legally inflicted and executed upon them, *as Rebels of Murdering Principles and Practices*; for this cannot be vindicated from a more than indirect justifying of all Murdering Severity executed upon them.

2. Considering the Party imposing the Oath with such Rigour, and prosecuting the Refusers with such ravenous Rage, murdering and torturing all who will not comply with them, declaring a War more formally and explicitly against CHRIST as King, and all that will dare to assert their Allegiance to Him, under an open displayed Banner of Defiance of him and his, than ever Mortals durst espouse and avouch. The Head of that treacherous and truculent Faction, both he who was first declared
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against in that Declaration, and he who hath by bloody and treacherous Usurpation succeeded to him, being such a Monster for Murder and Mischief, Tyranny, Oppression, Perfidy, and Perjury, that among all the *Nimrods* and *Neros* that past Ages can account, we cannot find a Parallel, by all Law, Divine and Humane, incapable of Government, or any Trust, or so much as Protection, or any Privilege, but to be pursued by all as a common Enemy to Mankind, and Beast of Prey, and his Underlings and Agents and Complices devoted to his Lust and serving his wicked Designs in their respective Offices and Places of Trust under him, which by his Nomination and sole Appointment, they have been erected to, and established in, with the Stain and indelible Character of Perjury, the only Qualification, and *Causa sine qua non*, of their being capable of any Advancements, occupying by Usurpation, Intrusion and Violence the publick Places of Judicatory, and carrying all so insolently and arbitrarily, and with such an Effrontry of Wickedness and Despise of all Reason, Religion or Justice, that they cannot but be looked upon as the most pestilent and pestiferous Plague, that ever pestered a People. By my taking of that Oath, by them projected, as a Pest to infect Consciences with, and pervert them to wicked Truth-deserting and Law-perverting Loyalty, and imposed as a Test of our Compliance with them, and coming off from that little Flock, whom they design to devour and destinate to Destruction; I have in their own Esteem, as well as of the Generation of the Righteous, to their Satisfaction and the others Sorrow, really incorporate my self with them, owned their usurped Power, as Judges to administer Oaths, given them all the Obedience they required for the Time to their Authority, and all the Security they demanded for my Loyalty, approved all their Preceedings in that Matter, and transacted, tampered and bargained with these *Sons of Belial*, upon such dishonourable Terms, for a base Fear of my silly Life, and thereby purchased a Right to that common Badge of their professed and owned Friends, who (upon taking that Oath) have from them a Privilege and Allowance to travel and traffick, where and how they will, through the Country, denied to all other that want that Badge, I mean the *Pass*, or *Testificate* they get from them thereupon, which is the Mark of that *Secular Beast* of Tyranny, no less pernicious to the World, than Popery hath been to the Church, and which is given to all the Takers of that Oath, as a *Mark* or *Tessera*, that they are no Enemies to the Government, as they call it: Now tho' I received not this; yet I had a Right to it, and should have got it actually, if I had been liberated. O base and unworthy Livery for the suffering Sons of *Zion*, this Day to put on the Signature of the Society of her Devourers.

3. Considering that *Apologetical Declaration* it self, which is so bespattered and odiously Represented, and so rigorously enjoyned to be Abjured; but when I more narrowly look into it, and ponder and perpend the Purpose and Scope of it, I can see nothing that can be abjured Conscientiously in it, but the whole of it, laying aside Prejudice and Critical Censoriousness, capable of a fair and acceptable Construction. The Motives leading them to set it forth, being only their desires and laudable Conscientious endeavours to Prosecute, and to secure themselves in the Prosecution of Holy commanded Duties, and to keep up a standing Testimony against the Insolence of the Age, given up of GOD to lay out themselves in promoting a Course of Prophanity and Persecution, notwithstanding of all their Viperous Threatnings; their Measures being none other, than the Commendable Precedents and Examples of Zealous and Tender Hearted Christians, who have done the like, and our National and Solemn Covenants lying with their binding force Indispensably upon all of us, obliging us, to endeavour all that's there declared, as being bound for ever to have common Friends and Foes with our Covenanted Reformation; to all which they declare, and avouch their resolved adherence, and their own former Declarations, disowning their Allegiance to, and the Authority of a Man, who had *ipso jure* Forefaulted all Authority, by his Intollerable Tyranny, Perjury and Perfidious breach of Trust, reposed and devolved upon him by Covenant, and by his overturning all the Fundamental Constitutions of the Government, perverting, inverting, everting all Laws, all Liberties, all Priviledges of Church and State, all Establishments of our Covenanted Work of Reformation, all securities of our Life, or Enjoyments whatsoever; usurping to himself an Absolute, Tyrannical, Civil Supremacy, inconsistent with the Freedom or Safety of the People, and a Monstrous, Blasphemous, Ecclesiastical Supremacy, as formally Invading and Encroaching upon the Mediator's Prerogative, as King of his Church, by him Exauctorated, as ever the Antichrist's Supremacy was. Upon which considerations, to endeavour to make good their Freedom, find Emancipation from that Yoke, which they had cast off, they behoved to resolve upon a War defensive against him, and his Bloody Emissaries; which being declared before, they only here Testifie their unanimous Approbation of, Adherence to, and Resolutions to Prosecute that War against him and his Accomplices, such as lay out themselves to promote his Wicked and Hellish Designs: By which War they do not mean a formed, stated and declared Insurrection, with Hostile Force to break the Peace of the Nation, and involve all in Blood; but a resolved, avowed, constant Opposition to the Murdering, Violence, Injustice, Oppression and Persecution of this Wicked Faction now Raging

ing rather than Reigning, who have Declared and still prosecute a declared War against CHRIST, bearing down his Work and Interest in the Land, and a constant Endeavour in Opposition to them to Pursue the Ends of our Covenants, in standing to the Defence of our Glorious Work of Reformation, and their own Lives, and in the Defence thereof, to maintain the Cause and Interest of CHRIST against his Enemies, and to hold up the Standart of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, meaning the Gospel, and the Word of their Testimony, whereunto they looked upon themselves as bound and obliged by their Holy Covenants, dedicated to the LORD in their Persons, Lives, Liberties and Fortunes, for defending and promoting this Glorious Work of Reformation, notwithstanding all opposition that is or may be made thereunto, and Sworn against all Neutrality and Indifferency in the LORD'S Matters: Whereunto they beseech, invite and obtest all them, who wish well to Zion, to a Concurrence and Consenting the same common Cause and Quarrel, in maintaining of which Opposition against such Wicked Enemies, because by them they were restlessly Pursued, and Hunted, and Murdered wherever they were met with, neither could find any Harbour or Hiding Place in any Corner of the Country, for Searchers, Informers, and Instigators, who still stirred up the Country to rise the Hue and Cry after them, and caused them to be delivered up, and delated them to the Courts of their Murdering Enemies, whereby much Innocent Blood was shed. Therefore to stop their Carreer of Violence, and deter 'em from such Courses, they found it necessary to threaten 'em with more active and vigorous Opposition, and that they might expect to be Treated as they deserved, wherein they are far from owning *Assassinating Principles, or practising Assassinations*; for they give open and plain warning and Advertisment to the World of their Designs, and can no way be charged with *asserting it Lawful to kill all employed in the King's Service in Church, State, Army, or Country* (as the Proclamation in viperous-invective-Calumny, misrepresents the Declaration) but on the contrary do jointly and unanimously declare, they *detest and abhor that Hellish Principle of Killing all who differ in Judgment from them*: And there they are firmly and really purposed not to injure or offend any whomsoever; but such as are directly or indirectly guilty of, or accessory to the Murder of their Brethren, whom they mind not to Assassinate neither, or kill Tumultuously or rashly, but to prosecute them with all the Formalities that Justice in their Capacity, and the Times disorder and Distracted Condition will allow; expressly declaring, that they abhor, Condemn and Discharge all Personal Attempts, upon any Pretext whatsoever, without previous Deliberation, common consent, certain Probation of sufficient Witnesses, or the guilty Person's Confession: Neither could it ever be supposed, that they threaten all

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employed in the King's Service, with this sort of handling, but some select and expressly distinguished kind of Notorious Villanies, Men of Death and Blood, openly avowing and Vaunting of their Murthers; and these they distinguish into several Classes, according to the Respective Aggravations of their wickedness. In the first, they place those that Murder by Command, under a pretext of an Usurped Authority, as *Counsellours*, the *Justiciary*, and *Officers of their Forces*, or *Bands of Robbers*; and not all these neither, but the Cruel and Blood-Thirsty. In the 2^d Class, they threaten such as are actually in Arms against them in any Inferior Rank; and such Gentlemen and Bishops Curats, as do professedly and willingly serve them, to accomplish and effectuate their Murthers, by obeying their Commands, making search for these poor Men, delivering them up, instigating, informing and Witnessing against, and Hunting after them; and not all these neither, but such as cruelly prosecute that Service to the effusion of their Blood; neither do they threaten all equally, nor any of them peremptorily, but that continuing after the Publication of this their Declaration obstinately and habitually in these courses (which shows they intended no hurt to them if they would hold up their Hands) they would repute them as Enemies to GOD and Reformation, and Punish them as such according to their Power, and the degree of their Offence, withal leaving room for Civil and Ecclesiastick Satisfaction, before Lawful and Settled Judicatories, for the Offences of such Persons as their Power may not reach, &c. And as unwilling to be necessitated to such severe Courses, and earnestly desirous they may be prevented, they faithfully and Christianly Admonish them, with Sorrow and Seriousness of the Sin, and Hazard of their wicked Courses, and Protest that only Necessity for Self-Preservation and Zeal to Religion, lest it should be totally rooted out by their insolency, did drive them to this Declaration; and not because they were acted by any sinful Spirit of Revenge: This is all that's contained in that Declaration. And if there be any thing there so Odious and execrable, to be so solemnly Abjured, Renounced and Abhorred in the Presence of GOD, for the Pleasure of, and in Obedience to the Will of His and our Enemies, let any unbiassed Considerer impartially weigh, or awakned Conscience speak. And I doubt my Swearing and Subscribing that Oath will be cast and condemned, I shall say nothing of the Necessity, conveniency, Expediency or Formality of this Declaration; but the Lawfulness of the Matter is so undeniable, that we cannot Refile or Renounce it, without condemning many very Material Principles of our Reformation: And only Success and capacity is wanting to justify the Manner, whose Procedure, Formality and all the Circumstances of the Business, if either the

Declarers themselves, or any other impowered with Strength, and countenanced with Success to make good the Undertaking, had issued out such a Declaration in the same Terms, and had prevailed and prospered in the Project; many that now Abjure it would approve and Applaud it. But passing these things that are extrinsick, to the Consideration in Hand, it is the Matter we are required to Abjure and Condemn. It is that the Enemies do quarrel at, and not the Inexpediency or Informalities of it, and we must take it as they Propound it, and Abjure and Renounce it by Oath as they Represent it. And so the Iniquity of this my Subscription will appear to be great in two respects, 1. *In denying the Truth.* 2. *In Subscribing and Swearing to a Lie.* By my taking that Oath, I have denied and renounced the Matter of it, as it really is there held forth, which is Truth and Duty, and a Testimony therein offered to the Cause of Christ, as it is this Day Stated and circumstantiated in this Nation, founded upon former (among us) uncontroverted Precedents and Principles of Defensive Wars, disowning Tyranny, and repressing the Insolency of Tyrants and their Accomplices; the whole Matter being reducible to these two Points, declaring a resolved endeavour of breaking the Tyrant's Yoke from off our Neck, thereby asserting our own and the Posterities Liberty and Freedom, from his insupportable and Intailed Slavery, and a just threatening to curb and restrain the insolency of Murderers, and to bring them to Condign Punishment; whereof as the first is no ways repugnant, but very consonant to the Third Article, so the Second is the very Duty obliged unto, in the Fourth Article of our Solemn League and Covenant: But all this I have denied by my taking that Oath. Next, *By my taking that Oath, I have Subscribed and Sworn to a Lie,* in taking it as they Represent it, Abjuring it, *IN SO FAR AS it declares War, &c. and asserts it Lawful to Kill all employed in the Service of the King, in Church, State, Army or Country,* which is a manifest Odious and Invidious Lie; for it Declares and Asserts no such thing, as is before made out; neither will any other Sense put upon the words (*IN SO FAR AS*) save the Matter, for let them be taken which way they can, either for *in quantum*, or *Quatenus*, or *si modo*, it is either a denying the Truth, or Subscribing a Lie.

4. Considering the Proclamation entituled, as it is really designed, *For discovering such as own, or will not disown the foresaid Declaration,* by them falsely nicknamed, *A late Treasonable Declaration of War against his Majesty, and the horrid Principle of Assassination;* which discovers such Hell-bred Hatred of, and Malice against that poor Party murdered by them, and destinated in their Design to final and total Destruction, and lays down *such Contrivances for their Discovery and Destruction,* that the Heads
and

and Hearts of the Inventers and Authors may seem to be possessed and inspired with the Devil's immediately assisting Counsel, and the Clerk's Pen that drew it up, to have been dipped in the *Syagian* Lake, and the Gall and Venom of Hell; representing the Emitters, Abettors and Spreaders of that Declaration, and all who have been joyned to any of their Societies, and all who either will own, or scruple to disown the said Declaration, in the Manner by them tendered and imposed (which are the Generality of the most tender and conscientious Christians in the Land) under all the vilest and most abominable, and odious Terms their Malice can invent; as if they were *Insolent and desperate Rebels, associated under a pretended Form of Government, who had formerly endeavoured to disguise their Bloody and execrable Principles, but now had pulled off the Mask, and who think it a Duty to kill and murder all who do any manner of Way serve the present Rulers, or bear Charge under them who maintain Principles inconsistent with all Government and Society, and tending to the Destruction of the Lives of their Loyal and Honest Subjects, treacherous and assassinating Principles, who now have declared their hellish Intentions, and for the better Performance of their mischievous Designs, do lurk in Secret, and are never discerned, but in the Acts of their horrid Assassinations, and passing up and down among the King's Loyal Subjects, taking Opportunity to murder and assassinate, like execrable Rebels; and calling that Declaration, an execrable and damnable Paper, &c.* all which are execrable and damnable Lies, and Forgeries of the Father of them, and a Charge which all their Sophistry can never make out in any Particular; yet by them amplified to a swelling Height of Hainousness, and among other Circumstances aggravated from their frequent refusing the reiterated Offers of their Clemency, by which they understand their Contempt of their presumptuous, CHRIST-defying, and Church-destroying Indulgence, and their not submitting to their insnaring and base Indemnities, or their Conscience-cheating Bonds, and Oaths by them so finely busked. From these impudently pretended Premises, in their falsely forged viperous Narrative, they lay down their bloody Methods and Measures, for prosecuting these poor People with all Rigor of savage Severity, ordaining, That whosoever shall own that Declaration, and the Principles therein specified, (which is a larger Dilation of their meaning, than their pretended Restriction [IN SO FAR AS, &c.] and gives a further Discovery of the Intent of the Oath, that gives a covert Stroak to all the Principles of our Reformation, which are reductively specified in that Declaration) or whosoever shall refuse to disown the same, shall be execute to the Death; and commanding all Subjects to concur, and do their utmost Endeavour to seek, search, delate and apprehend, all such, under the several Penalties of the Laws,

and to difference the good from the bad (meaning their own Associates and Friends, from CHRIST's Followers) by discriminating Signs, declaring it their Pleasure, and requiring all past the Age of 16 Years, *Not to presume to travel without Testificates of their Loyalty, and good Principles, by taking the Oath of Abjuration*; whereupon they are to have a *Testificate*, which is to serve for a free Pass, with Certification, that all that shall adventure to travel without such a Testificate, shall be holden and used as Concurrers with the said Rebels; commanding all Heretors, &c. to give in the Lists of the Names of all under them before the Curate; declaring, if any shall refuse to concur in such Service, they shall be holden as guilty of the foresaid Crimes, and punished accordingly; and strictly prohibiting all to harbour, lodge or entertain any, unless they have such Certificates, under the same Pain: And for Encouragement to any that shall discover, or apprehend any to be found guilty, as above said, ensuring to them the Sum of five hundred Merks *Scots* for each of them. This is that Hell-hatched Proclamation, so grievous for its Effects, so dreadful for its Design, so monstrous for its Absurdities, that the like hath not been seen; whereby not only the Country's Interest and Trade hath been prejudged, by compelling all to have a Pass in Time of Peace, and these to be procured at exorbitant Rates, oppressing poor People, not only Common Hostlers and Inn-Keepers are made Judges, impowered to impose Oaths upon Passengers, for their Passes, that they be not forged; but many Consciences cozened, cheated, wounded and ensnared, and the whole Land involved in Sin: But by my taking this Oath, I have approved and justified this detestable, execrable, bloody Proclamation, the spurious Spawn of the Devil's Venom against CHRIST's Followers; for I have given all the Obedience to it that was required of me in my Capacity, and Obedience justifies the Law enjoining it. I have done all was required; or should be done by me, to answer the Design of it in my Circumstances, and consequently by doing the thing prescribed, I have justified the Grounds upon which the Prescript was founded, and the Methods by which it is prosecuted, which hath a dreadful Meddly of Iniquity in it. Hence, 1st. I have subscribed to all these odious Characters, wherewith they brand that poor persecuted Party, and have condemned them, *as insolent and desperate Rebels, Murderers, bloody Assassines, &c.* 2^{ly}. In disowning that Declaration, I have disowned the Principles therein specified, and consequently all the Testimonies against this usurping Faction of Overturners of the Work of Reformation, active and passive, that have been given, and sealed by the eminent Servants of GOD, since this *Catastrophe*, the Principle of Defensive Arms, and our Covenants, and several others, which are therein specified

fed. 3^{ly}. *I have given my Consent to, and all the Concurrence there required, for seeking, searching, delating and apprehending of these People; and to all the cruel Villanies committed against them; for I have given all the Concurrence required of me (and I have taken on their prescribed discriminating Sign of Loyalty, and of being repute by them, a Man of good Principles. That is, One of their Friends, a Man for the Times, which is so sinful and scandalous, that I cannot hint these things without Shame; and yet for Shame, I cannot enlarge upon them.*

5. Considering the Nature, Conditions, and Qualifications of so solemn and serious a Piece of GOD's Worship, and way of invoking his Holy Name, as an Oath is: *I have by taking that imposed Oath of Abjuration, dreadfully and hainously broken the third Commandment, by taking his Name in vain, in the worst Sort, and so cannot be holden guiltless; but upon many Considerations, I must cry, Guilty: For it is impossible such an Oath, however it be constructed, can ever be taken with these requisite Qualifications, necessary to be observed in all Oaths, that are mentioned once for all, in Jer. 4. 2. where every one that sweareth, must do it in Truth, in Judgment, and in Righteousness. Now, 1st. This Oath cannot be taken in Truth, which is a necessary Qualification in all Oaths, according to the Definition of a true Oath, which is, A solemn Invocation of GOD: for Confirmation of some True, Lawful, Grave and Weighty, Useful and worthy Business, wherein he is attested and appealed unto, that He, as the only Searcher of Hearts, may give His Testimony to the Truth of the Thing, and punish the Swearer, if he swear not in Truth: And this swearing in Truth doth import and require, both Sincerity of the Heart, filled with Reverence, and the awful Apprehension of a present GOD; and Simplicity of the Mind, well informed of the genuine Meaning of the Oath, that we have a clear Up-taking of it, and take it not implicitly, but with our own Understanding; and also Singleness and Honesty in the Intention, that it be not to deceive, by putting any other Sense than the Imposer hath, or will allow, when he understands it; so the Meaning must be clear, and such as may be obviously gathered from the Words, and according as they are supposed to be understood by others, especially them that exact the Oath; for if he mean one thing and we another, GOD's Name is profaned, and the End of the Oath frustrate; and so all EQUIVOCATIONS and MENTAL RESERVATIONS are condemned, as all Divines treating on Oaths teach: And worthy Mr. Durham particularly on the 3^d. Command, Pag. 113, in Octavo, And afterwards on the Obligation of Oaths, he asserts, That tho' we could devise some other meaning that might seem to make for us; yet if that was not meant at first Tendering, but otherwise understood by him that did take*

it, it will not Absolve from the Guilt of the Perjury; for an Oath is stricti juris, and will not Admit, on any Respect, or any Account, of Interpretations Prejudicial to the Native Truth of it, lest it should be found to be according to Psal. 24. 4. a Swearing Deceitfully. Ibid. Pag. 122, And afterwards he says, Much less will it Exempt a Man from Guilt, that in Swearing, he had a meaning of the Words, contrary to what in Common Sense they bear, and in the Construction of all indifferent Persons, sine juramento or Extra, but it should be plain, single and clear. Ibid. Pag. 123. And Sanctum est Juramentum, ut sit vinculum veritatis inter homines, & testimonium quod Deus sit Author & Defensor Veritatis. Pareus. in Catech. Ur. Part 2. Quest. 102. But in this I have failed, as is above declared, by my Sense and Accommodation I offered, which the Oath cannot bear, and which the Imposers never intended, nor would they ever have allowed, if they had understood it, which I industriously had a care they should not, and so took it in that Sense, *cum animo fallendi*; which cannot be in Truth, but most Derogatory both to the Truth and Simplicity of the Gospel. Neither can any Conscientious Man take it in Truth, according to their meaning, for then he should Swear it unlawful, ever to declare War against the King; and consequently, ever to rise in Arms against him upon any Pretence whatsoever; for if we may rise in Arms for our own Defence, we may and must declare a Defensive War (and indeed in themselves, as well as in their Sense and meaning, who impose them, these two Oaths, *never to rise in Arms against the King, and this of Abjuration*, are one and the same) then also should he Swear it unlawful at any Time, upon any Occasion, or for any Cause, to Kill any such as Serve his Majesty, in Church, State, Army or Country, either in Peace or War, for that's their Thoughts, *Et Sensus vel Juramenti ipsius, vel extra Juramentum*, and in part for their Exemption and Immunity from all condign Punishment or Opposition this Oath was Contrived. But in fine, how can this Oath be taken in Truth, when it is a denying the Truth, and a Subscribing to a manifest Falshood, invoking GOD to be Witness thereto? which how it can consist with the fear of GOD, or sincerity of the Heart, cannot be imagined, and if Conscience be called into Judgement, it will condemn. 2. This Oath cannot be taken in Judgement, that is, with Knowledge and Deliberation, minding and understanding what it is we Swear, as Mr. Durham explains it, *loco supra citato. Pag. 119.* For (1.) It cannot be taken in Judgement, because it is in it self Ambiguous; the Terms of it being capable of diverse Senses, not Explained by the Imposers, and if it were Explained in their Sense, then it could not be taken in Righteousness. All the Terms of it have much obscure Ambiguity, *Declaring of War, and Killing any who Serve the King*, may be constructed in several Senses, Good and Bad; but *here they are indefinitely expressed and universally condemned, particularly*

larly that (IN SO FAR AS) hath several Faces, which deceived me first and last, and can never be Sworn in Judgement ; for if it denote a Causality, and signifie as much as *Quia* or *Quatenus*, then I must condemn universally, all Declarations of War against any that hath the Name of King whatsoever, upon whatsoever Grounds, and all the Killing of any Serving him, tho' in my own Defence, for a *quatenus ad omne valet Consequentia*. If it import a Restriction, excluding other things in the Declaration, but obliging to Abjure only that, then it implies, also an Affirmation that these two things are contained in it, which I knew to be False, as is proved before. If it be a Supposition or Condition, and to be interpreted for IF SO BE, then I know it to be uncertain, and that is dreadful to invoke the Majesty of GOD to be a Witness to an uncertainty, for that is to Swear with an Evil Conscience, and contempt of GOD, to dare to call Him as Witness of that which is in Suspense, whether it be Truth or a Lie, and such a Swearer must make it a Matter indifferent, whether he make GOD a Witness of a Truth or of a Lie in the Case. *Vid. Pareum loco supra citato, Pag: 654. §. 4.* Alas ! I did not reflect on this, when afterwards I Subscribed it again, under this Notion. But next, it cannot be taken in Judgement, because it is imposed under a severe Penalty of Death, and so Extorted out of fear. All imposed and Extorted Oaths are by many Famous Divines Judged unlawful ; especially Publick Oaths, imposed by Authority under colour of Law, that is worse than a Man's Private Oath, given to a Robber for fear of Death, if the Matter be unlawful ; but whether the Matter be lawful or unlawful, such an Oath coerced and imposed by Law, cannot be taken in Judgement ; for if it be taken out of respect to the Law, than its the Persons Suffrage to the equity of that Law, and an Approbation of the Imposition, which in the present case cannot be done by any Man of Conscience, for whether the Oath be lawful or not, the Authority imposing it is nought, and the Law Wicked, and can never be approved ; and if it be Extorted out of Fear, then it cannot be taken with Deliberation, or Voluntarily and Unviolated Choice, and Unconstrained Light or Liberty ; which are all the Ingredients of Judgement. 3. This Oath cannot be taken in Righteousness ; that is, according to the Law of Equity as well as of Piety, neither wronging GOD nor others by our Oaths. Lawful Oaths should be in themselves *vincula equitatis*, as well as *veritatis* ; And *Pareus* saith, *Loco Sup: Cit. Juramenta licita tantum ea sunt, quæ suscipiuntur de rebus veris, certo cognitis, licitis, Possibilibus & gravibus, necessarijs, utilibus & dignis.* Lawful Oaths are only these which are engaged into about things true, certainly known, lawful, possible, weighty, necessary, useful and worthy ; and if that be true, then my Oath hath been a Flattering my self

self into a *Vinculum Iniquitatis*, a Bond of Iniquity, which, now when I think on it again, becomes a Gall of Bitterness; for the Matter of it is neither true, that the Declaration imports, so far as it is Represented in the Oath of Abjuration, neither is it certainly known, but by Collating the two together, the contrary will be certainly evident. Neither is it lawful (if it were true that such Assertions were in it) to Abjure universally all Declarations of War against the King, and to Swear it unlawful for ever to Kill any, if he be once in the King's Service, in Church, State, Army or Country; neither is it possible to reduce this *Affertory* Oath into a *Premissory*, as most part of such Oaths may, and do necessarily imply: For when I Swear such a thing unlawful, it implies my Promise by vertue of the same Oath, never to Practise it, but it is not possible, as the Case stands, for a Man to bind up himself in every case from all declared War against the King, or from Killing some employed in his Service. What if I have a necessary call to joyn in Arms with the LORD's People, for the Defence of their Religion, Lives and Liberties against him? What if he Command a Massacre, shall I not defend my self, or endeavour to Kill none of that Murdering Crew, because they are in his Service? Was ever a Fool so Fettered? Neither is it of such weight, as to be the occasion of involving the whole Country in Perjury; as alas! by that Oath they have done. Neither is it now necessary, to make all Abjure a Declaration now out of date, since the Object of it, *Charles the 2d.* is Dead, and no visible Party actually in Arms to Prosecute it. Neither is it of any use or Worth, but only Implicitly to gratifie their greedy Lust after the Blood of Innocents, or the Blood of silly Souls, cheated by their Snares, by involving them in the same Sin of Perjury and Conscience Debauching, false Swearing, whereof they themselves are so hainously Guilty; but on the contrary, it is *False, Uncertain, Unlawful, Impossible, Frivolous, Fruitless, Useless and Unworthy*, to the worst degree of Baleness, and, which is the worst of all, dreadfully sinful, and horrid to be thought on, to Interpose the Name of GOD upon it, making Him the Approver of what His Soul hates, and a Witness of that which He will be an Avenger of. Many other things I might add to Demonstrate the Sinfulness of this slip, which I shall here forbear, referring to an Essay of Making this more Evident, in

* *Viz. The Hind* * a Paper which I mind to make more Publick.
let loose.

Immediately after this Fall, through Mercy I found the Smart of it, and the Sense of it did stick long with a very piercing and pressing Sorrow, which kept me down many a Day, and cast me in the Deeps, which cost me many a Cry, before I could get my Feet set on Dry Ground again, in so much, that I was like one dead among

among the living. The very first Night I returned to the Western Gallery, it was represented with such black and horrid Aggravations, that almost distracted me, which the more I thought on, it Multiplied the more Numerously; as some Letters I sent out to some Friends, while I was in that Condition, can yet Witness; But *Peter's* look, that he got after his denial, did Comfort me, and I began to recover the hope of Pardon; but still I thought, *He would take Vengeance on my Inventions*, and that I had Forefaulted the Honour of ever being again imployed in any Service in the Work of the Gospel, as indeed I deserved to have been finally discarded out of his Service, for this never-enough to be hated unfaithfulness. As I found my self then discourted, the horror whereof I cannot find Words to express; but when that Torture of a Wounded Conscience for sin was a little abated (I fear from an after-review of it, rather scurled than cured) I had many tossings of Mind, and searchings of Heart, and perplexing Enquiries about what should be incumbent upon me as Duty, in a supposed Case, if I should be called before their Bloody ensnaring Courts again; whether I should be silent as to what I had done, if they did not bring it in Question again; or if I should plainly and positively retract and condemn it before them, for some Reparation of my Integrity, be the hazard what would. I imparted this doubt to, and sought Resolution in the case from several Friends, yet could not get any satisfying peremptory Detemination, until Holy Providence wonderfully did resolve me, as I shall by and by declare.

The Time I stayed in that Western Gallery, until I was disposed of in another Place, was about the space of five Weeks; all which time I never exercised Publickly, in that Society, in any Ministerial Duty, tho' I was much urged and importuned thereto, and upbraided for not joyning with the rest of the Ministers in taking turns with them, both by the Indulged themselves, who were sometimes sharp to my Face, and sometimes bitter in their Reflections behind my Back, as I both heard from some Reporters; and overheard my self, and also by other Ministers, whom I much Reverenced, who were not Indulged, who used unwearied Affidubas pains to draw me in; yet I durst not joyn after that manner with these who were Guilty of such a Defection, as that woful and wretched Indulgence was; which as to the Guilt of it, the Cry of it, and the sad Effects of it do yet remain, as a standing Ground of the LORD's controversy against the Church of Scotland, and as a Matter of Mourning and Humiliation for all Zion's Mourners; and a thing against which all that have any Zeal for CHRIST as King, should endeavour a Testimony, tho' the Men that had the Benefite or rather the Mischief of it, as being no more useful for the Indulgers design, are laid aside, and very Wickedly wronged, and I may say

basely and ungratefully requited, for their good Service, when for their remaining Honesty they are Imprisoned. This I thought was all the Testimony or Signification of my dislike of, and disapproving that Defection, that I was in a capacity to give at that time, and in all these Circumstances; for other Practical Discountenancing, by withdrawing from hearing I could not use, being shut up at their Times of Exercise in the same Room with them, and when on the first Sabbath I Essayed to withdraw, and went out of the Room, I was taken and shut in again, and for my verbal Protestation, or entering in Disputes with them, I was Conscious of my own Inability, and fearful that the Truth might suffer by my weak Managing a Plea for it, or my self might be confounded or insnared; especially at that Time, I was very averse from such intangling, incumbring Discomposures of Spirit, and very indisposed for such Concer-tations, having my Spirit otherways Exercised; yet I was not altogether silent, but now and then as I had occasion, endeavoured to maintain my Practice, and Protested my Detestation of their indirect Betraying of the Liberties of the Church of *Scotland* by that Defection, and could not escape some little heats about it. Nevertheless I cannot but acknowledge, they were very civil and courteous to, and tender of me, during my abode with them, and I believe in Charity, had sympathy with me when I was gone; tho' some of them took some occasion to be incensed against me, for a Letter that was sent to me from some Friend, reflecting upon the Indulgence: Among others of the Times sins, which was lost in the Tolbooth, and delivered to the Goodman or one of the Chief Keepers, and shewed to one of the Indulged, who thereupon was enraged at me, for no Fault of mine, and threatened to cause me be put in another Room on the other side, and accordingly (whether upon his Instigation or not, I shall not say, but shortly after) the Goodman gave Orders to remove me to the other side; but when I was preparing to go, by the Intercession of others, the Order was Countermanded, and I stayed a while longer.

The Council by this Time was thinking to dispose of us otherwise than fell out; they sent Indictments to a great many Prisoners, whom afterwards they sent to *Dunnottar-Castle*, and afterthat to the *American Plantations*, and among the rest I had one with the rest that came in the Yacht from *London*, severally by our selves, Charging us with the common Crimes of not keeping our *Parish Churches*, *Unlawful Marriages and Baptisms*, *Resetting of*, and *Conversing with Rebels*, *refusing the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. and thereon were Cited to answer before the Council on the 3th of *April*; for which I was preparing, but the Dyet was not held with the rest, and anticipated with me by a strange Providence, which made a Letter

Letter of mine fall into their Hands, which I had intended to send to *Holland*, directed to *John Balfour* to be Transmitted by him to others my Friends there; which was very strangely ordered by Providence, both as to the discovery and effects of it, which brought me to very great Danger, very near to a Sentence of Death, besides the Trouble it occasioned to others. I had delivered it to a Woman to be delivered to some Seaman in *Borrowstowness*, which was done, but it seems not with due Discretion: However, in a Search of that Ship only to which he belonged, tho' others were going, and (as it was told me) of that Man only who had my Letter, none other being questioned, my Letter was found and brought to the Council. I had ordered therein the Answer to be directed to me under a Borrowed Name of *Target*, to be left in *Robert Young's* Wright, without his Knowledge altogether, yet because of this he was Apprehended, Imprisoned, and afterwards sent to *Dumottar* with the rest, and suffered very much and innocently, which was no small Addition to my Grief. Of this I had no Advertisement, nor any warning of my own appearing before the Council until the very instant of the Guards coming for me; yet I was not altogether surpris'd, but had a secret kind of Suggestion of great Trouble imminent, tho' I knew not what it would be; for that Afternoon expecting to go before the Council to Morrow, to answer to the foresaid Indictment, being a little perplexed in the forethought of what Snares I might meet with, and about my Resolution (I was hinting of before) of disowning my former Deed, at length upon a Chair I fell asleep, and slept till within half an Hour that I was called upon; in which sleep I Dreamed, that I was presently that Night to go through great and dangerous Troubles, and had the very Representation of what I met with; which, when I awoke, put me to my Prayers, or otherways, it is like, I had been called without Recommending my self to GOD; and I had scarce done, nay, before I came from my secret Retirement, such as that Place afforded, which was only to cast my self down upon my Bed, I was roared upon to come down and go before the Council; so I went, knowing nothing of the Matter to be laid to my Charge. And for a Narration of that piece of Tryal, and what succeeded, I shall here Transcribe the Account that I wrote presently after, as soon as I could get leisure, which tho' the Prefaces be somewhat Prolix, (thinking then I should possibly get Access to leave no other Testimony before my Death but these Accounts) I shall not put in any other Dress than they were then conceived in. And as I have done before, I shall Subjoin some Reflections I have had on these Passages after every Examination.

My second Appearance before the Council upon the Account of my intercepted Letter, April 29, 1685.

BEing about to give a short Narration to all my Friends concerned, for their Satisfaction, and to prevent Misreports of my late, and probably the last Part of my Tryal, being now sorely threatened with Death which in appearance is designed, and I cannot tell but may be determined by the Holy GOD, the LORD of my Life; and therefore I know not but this short, and confused Account may be all that I shall get leave to contribute for a Testimony to the Despised and Persecuted Interests of Truth and Duty, what I suffer for. I am taken in the Entry with Amazement in Reflecting upon the Stupendous Wisdom of Providence, that brought it about. O! the Admirable, & Adorable Wisdom of GOD! that can make use of the Folly of such a Nothing as I am to purchase the Glory of His own Wisdom. O for Wisdom to observe and take it up aright, and to Acknowledge it to his Praise, let it tend never so much to my own Shame. Let me Die a Fool, if my LORD glorify His Wisdom by, and over me, in a way of Mercy to me. The several Vestiges of Divine Providence, as I have had some Experience of the most part of them that are Recorded in *Psalms* 107 throughout, have been often refreshing to me to ruminate upon; But I do think this Passage as observable as any I have met with, so that upon the serious Reflection upon it, to the end I may make the right use of it, I desire, for my self and others, to be qualified with that Wisdom, and to experience the Truth of that Promise in the Conclusion of that *Psalms*, *Who so is wise and will observe these things, even they shall understand the Loving Kindness of the LORD*. I hope that howsoever terrible this Dispensation, bringing about my Tryal in such a manner, be, and however Declarative of my much condemned Folly and Rashness (which I shall not trouble the World much to justify) yet in the end it shall be Productive of much Loving Kindness to me.

After my former Appearance before the Justiciary, when I took the Oath of Abjuration, renouncing the *Apologetical Declaration* of the poor, despised, disowned, wandering, persecuted Party in Scotland, now stated in greatest Danger; I was much grieved and troubled in my Conscience, for what I had done, both for the Manner, in such a Sophisticating Way of Equivocation, without a plain and clear Testimony to what either I owned, or disowned; and for the Matter, renouncing and abjuring the Lawfulness of that, or other Declarations of War against the King, founded upon the Principles of our Covenants, and Work of Reformation; together with the disowning of the Methods there threatened to be fallen upon, for their own strengthening, and weakening and over-
awing

awing the Enemies, which to me seems to import an indirect (at least) a justifying of their shedding of their Blood uncontrolledly, in such Abundance, at least, a base transacting with the Enemy, which is imposed as a Test of our Loyalty to CHRIST'S Enemies; and upon several Grounds, which I had a Mind to have made apparent to the World, in a Paper by it self, I shall not enlarge upon now. But, I say, being wounded and smitten in my Mind, I was anxiously desiring of the LORD, Resolution, if ever I came before them again, to refuse from, and retract what I had done, and testify my Abhorrence of my own Deed, which some can witness, to whom I imparted it: Many Doubts and Tossings of Mind I had about it, what I was called to do in the Case; but the Intervention of holy Providence resolved the Case unavoidable. I had written a large Letter to *Holland*, to be communicate to some Friends there, wherein I gave a Relation of all that had past, and all my Interrogations, and Answers; wherein also I did express more fully my Mind, both concerning the Authority, and my Resentment of that Oath, I had taken, with some Reflections upon the Justiciary, as Murderers of the LORD'S People, with whom I had thereby said, *A Conederacy*. This Letter inclosed in another shorter, instructing how the Answer should be directed to me, under a borrowed Name, fell into the Hands of my Enemies (how, or when, or where I cannot tell, GOD will discover that also in due Time) and so was carried to the Chancellor, who thereupon held a Committee of the Council upon me; the Commissioner *Queensberry*, being present, before whom, upon the 29th of *April*, I was brought, about 7 a Clock at Night, expecting nothing like it, but looking to have been called the Day following to answer to a general Indictment with others: But the LORD had appointed my Trial otherwise to be staged, and interrogate upon this Matter only, which now I would give a short Account of; but by Reason of my Confusions, and the Length of Time after my Appearance, in which I had no Occasion to write, being kept in the Court of Guard among Soldiers, I cannot give a perfect Relation, but shall only hint at the Purport, of my Examination, and what I confessed.

At my first coming in, and taking the Place appointed for my standing before the Council Table, the Chancellor, who managed all the Discourse, first asked, *How long I had been a Prisoner, and how I had spent my Time under my Affliction?* I told him, I had been a considerable Time there, and no doubt I might have some sad Reflections on my Negligence, and other Miscarriages, but that I endeavoured to improve my Time as well as I could. He then asked, *What Resentments I had of all that I had done, since I came into this Condition?* At which, smelling a little what he intended

tended, I answered, That all my Actions were so tainted with Infirmities and Imperfections, that upon a Review, I could reflect on few of them, but with regrate, and a sad Heart. Then he asked, *What I thought of my taking the late Oath of Abjuration, which I had subscribed before the Lords of Justiciary?* I said first, That I thought that had been over, and the Court had been satisfied in that Part. What was done, could not be undone, or called in Question. He replied something to this Purpose, *That he was certainly informed, That I was sorry for what I had done; and therefore had res'ed from it, and so it could give neither Satisfaction, nor Security of my Peaceableness, or Principles that were tollerable, and therefore willed me to be ingenuous;* and harangued somewhat largely to this Purpose. I answered, That I loved to be ingenuous, and was a Person that was both unskilful in, and an Abhorrer of Equivocations, but loved Plainness and Christian Simplicity, in things that I had a Clearness to own or confess. He told me, *They would then take a Proof of it, and that now I had an Opportunity to show it.* I answered, I would then take that Opportunity, to show them that I had been under the Trouble and Horror of a wounded Conscience, for taking that Oath, and that I thought I had done ill in it, both as to the Matter and Manner: In the Manner, that when I could not preserve the Liberty of my Mind, but must needs discover it, I had used such Shifts and Evasions, that I thought were not so suitable to that Plainness and Simplicity, that my Circumstances and Profession did call for, and that I had given a Sense wherein I would take it, which upon Second-Thoughts, I found the Oath (as conceived in such Terms) was not capable of; and so I gave an Account of the Sense I offered, which was then accepted. He asked, *What I had to say to the Matter of it, which he wondered any Man of Sense could scruple at it.* I enquired what the Design, or Reason might be of this Re-examination, or if he required I should take it again. He told me, *The Reason I should know by and by, and certified, That if I did not take it again, and retract such Fancies, my Life should go for it; and therefore bade me be well advised.* I answered somewhat to this Purpose, that I would not lose my Life for Fancies; but the Exercise of a wounded Conscience for Sin, was no Fancy. I had felt the Anguish thereof in earnest, I had no Peace in what I had done, and I durst not do it again for the World; I reckoned that I had by disowning that Declaration, given my Assent to the Representation of it in the Proclamation, that it is founded upon Principles inconsistent with Government, and that it asserted the Lawfulness of killing all employed by the King, which was an Untruth; and that I thereby disowned all our Covenants, and the Way of carrying on the Work of Reformation there adhered to, and all other faithful Declarations of a Defensive War. *Some*
veral

veral other Things I mentioned in it, which were great Sins to abjure. He replied, *That no more was enjoined by it, but to abjure it, IN SO FAR AS, it declares War against the King; and asserts, &c.* But I could not make such Distinctions, and did not think it did assert any such thing. Several other things past in Discourse, that I cannot particularly remember; but the chief thing insisted on, was, *the intercepted Letter.* After having asked, *If I had any Correspondence with Holland?* Which I said, I had sometimes. Then causing the Letter be produced, he asked, *If I owned it to be mine, with its Subscription?* I said, That was my Name at the Tail of it, and the Hand was very like mine. Well, said he, *now be ingenuous, there's an Occasion for it, you have been communicating to your Friends a Relation of your Sufferings, and this you have intended, as your Testimony, in Case you should be hanged, and now it is very like you will be hang'd; and therefore do not disown your own Testimony, otherwise we will hold you to be the greatest Dissembler with GOD and Man in the World. We know it to be your's; none other could communicate such Passages.* Whereupon I found my self, both obliged, and prompted to own it, and every thing that was in it; and said, I had wrote such a Letter to such a Person, by him to be communicated to others, for their Satisfaction and Sympathy, and if that was adulterated, it was very cunningly done. Then he went through the Parts of it, and examined me about Defensive Arms, and Resistance of Kings (I cannot remember the Particulars) and about my owning the present King, to be my lawful Sovereign. I told them, I was a Subject, and content to be one, in Subjection to any Government, which Providence sets over us; but for owning the present Constitution of it, as God's Appointment, and according to Law, I durst not give an active Acknowledgement of it, nor own any as my Lawful Sovereign, but in the Terms of the Covenant. SO FAR AS it may consist with the Security of Religion and Liberty. He asked, *If I owned that Part of my Letter, asserting in my Conference with Sir William Paterson, That I thought not Hereditary Succession enough, to make any Man King?* I answered, I did own it; I thought that could only give him a Right to be King, whom the Representatives might set over them; but did not formally make him King, till the People make a Compact with him, upon Terms according to Law, and for the Safety of their dearest and nearest Liberties. Then asked, *If I owned Defensive Arms?* I affirmed, I did; and several things were agitated thereupon; Many Threats reiterated, many Expostulations to consider these Points seriously, before I ventured my Life upon them. Many solemn Asseverations, That they had no Desire of my Blood. Among other things the Chancellor dehorted me, *That I should not stand upon Points of Honour; because it might be thought a Shame to retract.* I told

told him, I had no Honour to look to, but Honesty, and I would stand upon Point of Conscience, till it be better informed. Then I was asked, *Who that Mr. Forbes was, that the Letter was directed to?* I refused to answer at first, and gave several Declinatures. They asked, *If I would swear, that was his true Name?* I answered, I would swear none at this Time; but I could say, That was the Name I knew him best by, and corresponded with him under. Then they would have me to declare, if he had no other Name, and if I knew he made Use of no other. After several shifting Refusals, they threatened me with Torture. I told them, I was a weak Man; Torture might extort from me a great deal more than was true, or I knew of; but said, I will confess as well without it as with it. Then said he, *As you have been ingenuous hitherto in other Things, be so in this.* But, said I, it is not alike, in other Things I prejudice, or endanger none but only my self; in this I may bring my Friend to Trouble, who is altogether innocent: And it being a Criminal Matter, declared by Law, to have Correspondence with some Persons, I cannot confess, without knowing what Security I shall have, that that Confession shall not militate against my Life. Then the King's Advocate offered the King's Security, and the Commissioner and Chancellor said, they would attest it, and I might bring them in as Witnesses, if I be condemned upon that Head. Then I was prevailed with, but with great Reluctancy, and after many Threats, to tell them, that it was *John Balfour*. Then they cried out upon me, *Why I would make Friendship with a Murderer!* I said, I did not look upon him as such, but as a Man, whom I might converse with profitably. I had found Courtesies from him. They asked, *What I thought of the Bishop's Murder, and what he said of it?* I answered, I never heard him discourse much upon it, & for my part, I have not such competent Knowledge of the Circumstances of it, as to pass a Judgment of it; but I thought it a Case somewhat extraordinary, not to be brought to an ordinary Practice. I was not much concerned to enquire into it. I had almost forgot a Passage about the Letter, I know not if I place it, in its proper Order; but thus it was. I had desired an Answer of the Letter, to be directed to me under the Name of *Mr. Target*, to be left with *Robert Young Wright*. They asked me, *Who was this Mr. Target?* I told them, I would not stand to reveal that, because it would not prejudice any Body, but my self. So I told them, it was my self, being my own Name in another Word of the same Signification. Then they asked, *Who this Robert Young was?* I told he was known well enough, otherwise I would not discover, for he was as innocent as the Child unborn in that Matter; for I never told him any thing of it, neither did I ever so much as reveal my borrowed Name to him. In End the Chancellor took me a-
side

side, and entred into a large Debate about *Resistance of the Supreme Powers*, to which, he said, *all these Opinions were reducible, as to their Fountain*. I cannot remember the Particulars of it, and several other things I have missed, in the foregoing Account; but the issue was great and peremptory Threatenings of Death, to which I replied, *What Profit is in my Blood?* And that they would have but small Confidence, in rendering an Account of it before the Supreme Judge. Several Things were offensive to them in my Discourse (in which perhaps I was too tender of Irritation) which hindered my Freedom: But, among the rest, my not giving them the Titles of *Grace*, tho' I called them *Lords*; for I remember at the Beginning, the Commissioner asked, *if I knew who I was before?* I said, I knew not particularly. Well said he, *That's my Lord high Chancellor of Scotland, that speaks to you*. Then the other replied; *You are before his Grace, my Lord his Majesty high Commissioner, representing the Person of the King himself*. I said nothing. One little Passage I remarked, that their very Dogs were enraged against me; for as I was speaking, and they to me, somewhat loudly, the Commissioner's Dog came out from under the Table, and leapt upon my Breast in great Fury, and bite my Coat, and made such a Noise with his Barking, that he got all the Speech himself, till commanded out of the Room: I was kept a long time before them; then commanded to the Tolbooth, and kept close Prisoner, and Order was given, That none should speak to me, not so much as the Keepers themselves; but when I came there, no Room could be found for me; and thereupon the Goodman made an Address to the Chancellor, showing, This Order could not be obeyed; therefore, he gave Command, That I should be carried to the Court of Guard, and there kept in close Custody, till further Order, which was done.

In this Discourse, which I was so surprisngly hurried into, and upon a Matter I did not Dream of, on an Occasion I was no way fearing, tho' I wanted not my own Consternations, that did much daunt and disorder my Spirit; yet I may say, looking to Him, I found His secret Strengthenings, and I rejoiced more when I came back, tho' loaden with the greatest Threatenings, than when I went before them, in Expectation of no such Severity, yea more than ever I did in any return before, and in reflecting on it, I had some quieting Peace, that I got my Mind exonerated of that disconcerting Suspense I had been in, by my declared disowning of the Oath. But now when I take a more narrow Survey of it, than in those doubtful and Distracting Circumstances, I was then in capacity to take, I am dissatisfied with several things in it, besides my Confusion of Spirit palpable through the whole, and my faintness in flenching from what in the case might have been expected from me, so

stated; chiefly these Two, 1. That I should have been so whiddled into such a simple Confession, as to own that Letter to be mine, out of a silly scarring at their Reproach of Dissembling, which I think, I needed not to have valued from them; but rather rejoiced at it when I gave them no Ground for it, and could have easily vindicate my self from their Imputation; not that I needed to be asham'd of the Letter, which to their own Conviction contained a true Representation of things, some of them were always Witnesses to, and as to the Subject of it in some Particulars it was indispensible Duty to own, when questioned thereupon; but this I might have done by owning the Truths therein contained, without Owning, or denying the Letter to be mine, for that, as a Matter of Fact, I should have put to their Probation, which they could not have evinced by my Subscription in Law, one Hand being like another, and so I should have had more Peace in having my Sufferings stated on these Truths inserted there, and not upon the Letter as mine; and I should not have given such a bad Precedent for their illegal inquisition upon intercepted Letters, which in some cases are very inconvenient to confess, if I had not owned that Letter. 2. That after my Reluctancy to give an Account of that Persons Name to whom I directed the Letter, I should have been prevailed with to detect his right Name, for fear of Torture, and upon such slender Security. I do not think the Matter simply sinful always, to discover a Man's Name when he is out of the reach of Hazard thereby, and whom the thing discovered in his Name will not endanger him, more than if it had not been discovered at all, and especially when such a discovery is made as if rather an avowing a Correspondence with him, than an Information against him, which was my case upon the Matter, but to be forced to this for fear of Torture; and besides it is to be suspected that the same fear might have influenced me to discover others to their Detriment; but to do it upon such Security, or to depend upon their Word, who have Forefeited all Faith, I judge a great deal worse. However this was never brought to a Tryal, for I was not Staged upon this Head.

My Examination before the Justiciary, on the foresaid Intercepted Letter,
April 30, 1685.

THE following Day being *Thursday* (if I right remember, I cannot positively tell, so much time intervèning before I could have Time or Opportunity to write any thing) being, if I reckon right, the 30th Day of *April*, I was conducted by Soldiers from the Court of Guard, to the Court of Justiciary, to be Tryed, and then upon Report given in to them of my Examination before the Council: At my first Entry, the *Advocat* fell to upbraid me, for my foolish Fancies and Dangerous Notions,

and

and Seditious Letters sent abroad, wherein I aspersed the Courts of Justice, and abused their Favours, under the Odious Names of Snares and Flatteries, and accounted my Satisfaction to the Law a Complaisance. *What Nonsense is that* (said he) *what a Fool are you?* I answered meekly, I would not stand much to vindicate it from Folly; I have often been accounted a Fool, but I meant Honestly, and do yet. But, said he, *How come you to say, We flatter'd you?* *We do not think you worthy of Flatteries,* I replied, I hoped they did not think me worthy of their Wrath neither. Then they produced my Letter, and asked, *If I would own it to be mine?* I craved Leave to read it, and some would have me read it out, and some were against it; so I turn'd over the Heads of it, and then said, I would not take up much time, nor use many Defences. I had acknowledg'd it before the Council, and would not deny it now. The Letter there shews, said I, what Trouble was upon my Spirit for some thing that I had done to please Your Lordships, the last Time I was here. I adore the Providence which hath discovered it, which obliges me to Ingenuity. I think the next they asked, was, *What induced me to write such a Letter?* I answered, Only to inform my Friends of my Case, and State of my Sufferings. They aggravated it much from the Person to whom I had directed it, but never a word of *John Bulfour* expressly, as I remember. I was asked, *If I would disown my own Deed, in subscribing the Oath of Abjuration, or was sorry for what I had done?* I answered, That I would not deny but I had subscribed it, but I was really sorry that I had done it, and hinted some Reasons for it. Then the Clerk drew up a kind of Confession of it, and asked, *if I would tear my Name from the Oath?* I answered, They had my Name there, and they might do with it as they pleased, my Subscription I thought satisfied the Law, and I had not as yet transgressed it. Then I was told I must subscribe the Confession, which was delivered to me. When I read it, I did not like some thing of the wording of it; and therefore chus'd rather to tear my Name from the Paper. Then some told me something to this purpose, That I had hang'd my self! The Lord helped me to take it resolutely, and to answer, but I cannot remember the Words. Then they proceeded to ask, *If I owned what I said in the Letter, about Authority?* I answered, I would retract nothing in the Letter, but then they would needs have my Judgment over again, *Whether I own'd the present King or not?* I answered, That I had said much to that already, and more than I was willing to say; I could very well live in Subjection to him, but for owning him, I had very little Skill what it meant. But, said I, That Your Lordships may see I am plain, I will take my Measures in that Matter from our Fathers, before the late Revolution; I cannot own

him otherways, or in no other Terms, than the Church and State of Scotland owned King Charles 2d, before he was crowned, who then only had an Hereditary Right to the Kingdom's Crown, and they admitted him upon the Terms of the Covenant; and if this King's Authority be not stated and founded upon, and bounded by Terms, giving Security to Religion and Liberty, I cannot own him: And so the Clerk set down in short, *That I would not own him, but according to the Covenant*; which I was not well pleas'd with, because that they might think, *That I own'd him according to the Covenant*. But I would fain have had that Question over, and so would not wrangle any more about it. Then I was questioned, *If I own'd Defensive Arms*? Which I affirm'd I did in some cases. Then was asked, *If I thought rising at Bothwel-Bridge was Rebellion*? I answered, I durst not say it was. These are the most Material Passages that I can remember; only when all was done, I was required to subscribe my Confession; I answered, that was needless, seeing I own'd the Subscription of the Letter, wherein all was insert, and they would find me always ingenuous. It was reply'd, *It was necessary. What? was I ashamed of my Confession, that I would not own it? would I say any thing that I durst not subscribe?* To which I answered, That I was not ashamed, and so subscrib'd to every part of it before them. After the Justiciary had done with me, and after Threatenings of Death, and of an Indictment they would send me, and that I need not to expect I should live many Days; they asked, from what Prison I came: the Corporal of the Squad of Soldiers being present, answered, I came from the Guard, where I was Prisoner by the Chancellor's Order; so they said they would not alter the Chancellor's Order, and accordingly commanded to take me thither again, which was done: And there I remained four or five Days after that, where I found very great Civility of the Soldiers, more than I expected; albeit I was kept clost, and shut up from all Converse with my Friends, none being admitted to come and speak with me, but by Order from the Officers: And so strict was the Prohibition, that one of the Centinels, for allowing one to come in and see me, without a Warrant, was laid in the Irons awhile. It was a sad Prison, in respect of want of Retirement, yet I bless the LORD, I found His presence there; Sometimes in the Night Season. I thought I had an offered opportunity to make my Escape, but always as I was preparing for it, which I durst not attempt without consulting GOD, I was disappointed by some coming in, so that I remarked it by a clear Determination of Providence, that I should be brought to further Tryal, which I bless His Holy Name, I got Submission to without Murmuring.

This is but a rude and imperfect account, which the length of Time
intervening

interveening, before I could get leasure or conveniency to write, occasioned ; for in the Guard I could get none written, yet in recollecting my Thoughts and Reflections upon it, I had much calmness and peace of Mind, and much joy that I had torn my Name from the Paper, confirming my hope, that the iniquity of that former sinful Subscription was blotted out through Mercy ; so that all the while I abode in the Guard, tho' in the midst of my Disturbances, and under the continued Prospect of threatening Death, I was pretty chearful. But in this review, I find cause of shame, in consideration both of the Omissions and Fainting back-drawings discernable in it, and also the folly and unadvised Rashness that I see in it. I shall here touch only three Remarks of it. 1. That I might have easily discovered their drift and design in this Criminal Re-examination and Multiplying all these Questions, that it could not be to get an account of my Principles, and to try my mind about these Particulars, for that they had in the Letter before them ; but either to confound me, or intrap and involve me in Contradictions, by wresting my Words, or insnare me in Sin, by Hectoring me into a Retraction ; or to secure themselves under the shadow of their Law, in Murdering me with more formality, which they took advantage by my simplicity ; for there was something peculiar in my case, which made their Ordinary Practick fail. They knew very well that my Extrajudicial Confession before the Council, could not sustain in their own Law, as a sufficient Proof, that the Letter was mine, if I had denyed it before them ; and that was not sufficient neither by their Law to take away my Life, since the Letter gave only an Account of what I had declared to themselves, before Satisfaction given to their Law, by my taking the Oath, with a Resentment of that Deed, which is not a Transgression of a Law ; for no Satisfaction with, or Repentance for Obedience to a Law, can be of it self a Transgression of that Law. Therefore they urged the Tearing of my Name from the Rolls of Court, that so they might proceed against me, as if I had never Subscribed ; and when that was done, they would accumulate Matter of Crime against me, for a further Declaration of my mind, and adhering to all the Particulars of the Letter about Authority, Defensive Arms, &c. Now this Drift I might easily have discovered, and in that case should have given them more ado, and cut out more Work to them to prove their Charge, being Criminal, or to stretch their Law, and strain it beyond Formality, that so my Murder might be made more manifest. This way I should rather have tryed, tho' I am glad my Name was torn off. 2. That I was very inconsiderately rash beyond an Apology, when I offered to take my Measures in owning this Tyrant from our Fathers Carriage to the former, before he was Crowned (tho' I Principally had an

Eye to the *West Kirk Remonstrance*, wherein conditionally, except it were upon the Terms of the Covenant, he was declined) for the difference between this Monster, now grassant in his avowed overturning all Rights Sacred and Civil, and that Man only then *Tyrannus in fieri*, who then for any thing that appeared Publickly, was thought capable of Government, is very obviously vast; especially that I should have so simply consented to the Clerk's foisting in that two faced Equivocating Clause in my Confession, *that I would not own him but according to the Covenant*, out of a fainting Foolish fear, declining to Witness it; whereas it was a base imputation upon the Covenant, as if it could consist with any manner of owning him. This is such a Dash to my silly Testimony, that I blush to reflect upon it. 3. That I was very sillily caught into that intrigue of Subscribing my own Confession, upon a Foolish Pretence, lest I should be reputed ashamed of my own Confession: For indeed as it stood according to the Clerk's Draught, I might have been ashamed of it; and it was more shameful to Subscribe it in these Terms, having such a Clause in it as is above mentioned, and it could be no shame to decline the giving them Satisfaction in all Advantages they were seeking against me, and might rather be accounted shameful to give them such Security, when they would not trust my Ingenuity. And certainly all blacking Paper with them is inconvenient, either in Obedience to their Commands, for that is a Compliance, or in Composition with their Offers, for that is a sinful Accommodation; or as a Seal to a Testimony (under which Notion I looked upon my Subscription) for that is needless, being more significantly done by standing out to the last, especially it is never to be consented to, when a Man hath not the Penning or wording of his own Confession, but must take it, as they express it. These things I reflect upon as very Material Escapes which made way for sadder Lapses following.

I stayed in the Guard about six or seven Days, in the which Time, I had several Offers of making my escape, but the LORD's Time was not come. Every Evening before Night I went out with a Centinel or two to the *North-loch*, where I might have easily escaped; but being then very weak in my Body, I durst not adventure to run, but with all ease I might have been Rescued, which at length was proposed, and by me accepted, and expected upon the fourth or fifth of *May*, some Friends thinking to Tryst with me at the *Loch-side*: But I adore His Holy Counsel, who ordered every Step of my Tryal besides, and beyond my forecastings, for that same Afternoon I was carried to the Tolbooth and put into the Gentleman's Chamber with my Comrads, Next Day I was brought before the Lords of the Articles, whereof the Account follows.

My

My Examination before the Lords of the Articles, May 5, 1685.

I will be thought a strange thing by all that know such a poor Creature of so little figure, and Obscure repute in the World, should make such a Noise in the Talk, and be so much noticed in the Observation of Men at this Time; and especially it will be no small Wonder to them to think, that any discovery of my poor insignificant Judgment of things, or any thing that ever I could say or do, should be thought of such importance, as to the Matter of the Cognizance or indignation of Men of Eminency, who are intrusted with the Affairs of the Nation. Surely it will be matter of Amazement to all my Acquaintances to hear, that not only the Council and Justiciary, but also the Parliament of *Scotland*; and the first Parliament after so notable a Revolution, having so weighty Matters on Hand, and so great Designs on Foot, should be at leisure to take to themselves the Diversion of hearing and trying my Cause. But it is not because it is mine, but because on this Occasion some Memory of the LORD's Work and of his Truths, sometimes terrible to them, always hateful, is revived; and therefore they would make a Publick Example of me, and give a specimen of their and their King's resolved and intended Opposition to the Work of Reformation, and all its Principles, and subservient Truths and Duties thereby owned. It is very low with the Interest of CHRIST, when it hath no better Patrons than such a pitiful Creature as I am, to own it in the Supremie Judicatories of the Nation: And this may let the World see what a case *Scotland* is in this Day, and how far Degenerate from, and how Opposite to that Reformation, and the Principles thereof, so Eminently owned therein in former Times; and how much they are set to destroy the Memory of it, that the most insignificant of Men that dare vent any Respect or Love to it, and dare not abandon the Conscience of Duty, and their Judgments blindly, will not escape the Cognizance and severest Censures of our Convocations of Estates, a sad and certain Demonstration of the wickedness of the Design carried on, to introduce Popery and Slavery, and a lamentable Prognostick of Desolation and Judgments coming upon this Generation. However, this is now my Tryal, and I adore the Providence, that hath brought me to it: To answer for a Discovery I made of some Principles, obnoxious to the Now current Law, in that Letter mentioned in the last Account. In Pursuance of which Tryal, I was called before the Lords of the Articles (preparing things for the Parliament's Cognition) upon the Fourth or the Fifth of *May*, having been brought to the Tolbooth from the Guard the Day before. I was brought before them by a *Macer*; the Chancellor had the Discourse to me; and first went over all the Articles of my former Examination, before the Justiciary severally.

And

and asked, if *I* had done, and answered so as was there reported, and registred in the Clerk's Papers, to wit, if *I* owned that to be my Letter, &c. *I* answered, *I* did, tho' *I* was not obliged to confess it; yet *I* durst not equivocate, since Providence had brought it into their Hands; what *I* owned before, *I* will not retract or disown now. He produced another Paper, and asked, *If I would own my tearing my own Name from the Oath formerly subscribed by me?* (which he read to make the thing odious) *I* answered, *I* did so, *I* thought *I* did it at the Command of the Court; but the Truth was, *I* was not very well pleased to have my Name there. Then *I* heard several of those that sat by, saying, *He is very ingenious.* Then *I* was urged to tell, *What induced me to refile from that Oath, and how came it that I was not satisfied with it, having expressed my Satisfaction with it before?* *I* answered, My former Deed might have given Satisfaction to the Law, whether *I* had been satisfied with it or not; *I* did not intend to make such a Noise of any publick Contradiction to it, had not this Providential Discovery obliged me to it. But further urging me, *What made me dissatisfied with the Oath?* *I* answered, That *I* was very well satisfied with it at first, thinking it obliged me only to disown those Principles and inferences fixed thereupon in the Proclamation, where the Oath was insert, which yet *I* am ready to declare my Abhorrence of; and so *I* offered a kind of a Sense to save the Matter; but upon an after-View, and serious ruminating upon the Thing more narrowly, *I* found, *I* had disowned things in the Complex in that Declaration, which when it came to Particulars, *I* durst not do: For *I* durst not disown these Covenants they declare an Adherence to, nor the Declarations there insinuate, nor the Principle of Defensive Arms, the whole is founded upon. Several things past here, which have escaped my Memory: Only *I* remember, there were some Reflections upon that Principle of *Defensive Arms*, as being the Spring of all these Errors, that such as *I* maintained; that that Notion was the Thing that destroyed and seduced us all. Then it was put to me, *If I would yet subscribe that Oath, and disown these Things, and save my Life?* *I* answered, That *I* was one that had some Experience what a wounded Spirit was, and had felt the Torture of a wounded Conscience; and that therefore *I* durst not provock GOD against the Light thereof, for all the Lives of the World. Then *I* was questioned, *about owning the King, as my Lawful Sovereign, whether I owned my answer before the Justiciary?* *I* repeated my former Answer, as to the Purport of it; and added, That *I* never meddled much with those Things, as being somewhat above my Sphere, and out of my Line; but seeing they would needs have my simple Judgment about it, *I* looked upon owning, as all the Suffrage *I* can give in my Station; and as for *Hereditary Succession*

cession, I do not very well understand it. Then I was asked, *If I owned that Part of my Letter, giving an Account of my Sentiments about Hereditary Succession, that by the Constitution of our Government, it might give a Man a Right to be made King, upon Terms of securing Laws, Religion and Liberty, but it could not formally make him King?* Then I was asked, *if I owned Defensive Arms?* And this was the chief thing insisted on, and to which the whole Contest was reduced. I asserted it to be a Principle so rational, that I could not disown it. I was urged, *In what Cases I would say Resistance of the Supreme Powers was lawful?* I answered, the Cases were so many, that I could not enumerate them. In some Cases I doubted not but they themselves would allow it; as in the Case of manifest Tyranny, everting all the Ends of Government; in the Case of a King's alienating his Kingdom, &c. The Chancellor replied, *None of these Cases could justify any Resistance hath been made in this Nation; and therefore urged me, what Cases I could allow, that were applicable?* I answered, I thought that when a Covenanted King doth oppress his Subjects, and doth invade his Subjects Civil and Religious Rights, and Lives and Fortunes, and sends out his Emisaries to oppress their Persons and Consciences, &c. and no Redress can be had, or hoped by any Address, Remonstrance or Petition, all such Representations of Grievances being declared against Law, and interdicted under severe Penalties of Treason, &c. That then and in that Case, and others the like, there was nothing left a People, but make Use of that Principle, which the GOD of Nature, and the Law of Nature, and the Practice of Nations did allow, to defend themselves against unjust Violence. He said, *If in that Defence, they would kill no Body, or use no Violence.* I answered, That was inseparable from War. I was asked, *if Bothwel-Bridge was Rebellion?* I answered as before. Then being asked, *if I was there?* I answered, I could not think that their Lordships did entertain any such Jealousie of me; or that they thought I was a Person fit to pass Muster in any Army, either for the King, or against him. At which all the House laughed. And the Chancellor replied, *That I might have a good Will for the Work for all that.* I was silent. Then the Prelates that were present whispered somewhat to the Commissioner, and he to the Chancellor, who told me, *That their Lordships the Bishops were desirous of a Conference with me, and did offer it, and he willed me to accept of it.* I said, I was at Command, to confer with any their Lordships pleased. Then he fell upon other Questions, about my being abroad; and asked, *if I was the Preacher at that Meeting, where we were taken at London?* I answered, I was. *Are you in Orders,* said he? I answered, I had a Call to preach the Gospel. *From what Bishop (Mr. Shields) said he, did you receive your Orders?* I answered, From no one Bishop

Bishop, but from a Colledge of Presbyterian Bishops. Then they all laughed, and said, *These are Bishops indeed! But, said he, who were they that you pass your Trials by?* I answered, it was odious to be an informer, I was not free to give an Account of that. He asked, *if Mr. Baxter was one of them?* I said nothing. Well, said he, *Mr. Baxter hath lost his Credit with all honest Men, and now his Liberty also, for that Commentary (he should have said Paraphrase) of his, he hath written lately upon the New Testament, as full of Treason as it can hold.* I said nothing. I had some Reflections upon it afterwards, that indeed I should have denied *Baxter* to have been one of them; for he was not, and I would have thought it scandalous, if he had. In fine, I was pressed to subscribe my Confession again before them, expressing in short Words, written by the Clerk, What I owned, &c. which because I had done it before, and to testify that I was resolved not to refile from it, I subscribed again. When they threatened me with Death, and that I might expect but a very little Time, and laid before me how easily I might save my Life, by doing but what I had done already. I answered, I neither durst do it, nor could I so proclaim my Treachery, Cowardice and Dissimulation before GOD & Man. The Chancellor then gave Advice, *That I would do well to take Heed, that it might not be standing upon Points of Honour, or thinking Shame to retract, which might hinder me from satisfying them.* I told them, That GOD was my Record it was not so, neither could it be thought so, that it was either my interest or Honour made me entertain such Principles. For what of either of these could be rationally expected from such things, that were looked upon, as so odious and obnoxious, and so dangerous by the Generation? It was purely Conscience I had respect to, and I durst not abandon it, nor could I see with any other Eyes than my own. This is the Substance of the most material Passages I can remember at that Examination. In End, I was sent back to Prison, and put in the Gentleman's Chamber, and that same Afternoon, about five at Night, was called out again to the Prelates.

This indigested and unpremeditate Conference, such as it is, however chargeable with all the common Censures of Folly and Faintness, that all my pitiful Confessions in all my Trials are guilty of, and lyable unto; yet, is one of the ill best I had with that Party of CHRIST's Enemies; wherein I had most Peace, and was kept free of Conscience-wounding and Cause-wronging Snares; and wherein I was most experiencedly helped of the LORD to aim at some poor Plainness; without my ordinary Trick of Quibling; unto which I think the Sense I had of the Rascal's Rudeness, that brought me in, and the Expectation I thence conceived of some signal Severity there in that Court, to be more solemnly determined against

against me, had some influence, to make me resolve upon the worst of it, and speak more freely, tho' still I kept Reserves, and declined a full Declaration of my Mind, till a fitter, and in my Fancy, a more apparently necessary Opportunity, when my Business should be unquestionably desperate, and nothing to be expected, but my Murder. However alas! I am confounded with Shame and Grief, when I look over this, not only because it was not better; but because I did not abide by it; but in my after Trials did degenerate to a great deal worse: Yet, even in this, I have some special Remarks of Miscariage. As, 1. That in giving Account of the Grounds of my Dissatisfaction with the Oath, I should have given so faint a Discovery of my Abhorrence of it, and not rather declared my Souls Detestation of such an abominable Contrivance to cheat Mens Consciences. Instead of this I foolishly insinuated a Desire, that they might have been satisfied with that Oath of my subscribing it. I should rather have desired, and endeavoured by all Means, that it might not stand in Law. As also, I tacitly implied there was some Shadow of seeming Reason in my Satisfaction with it at first, thinking it obliged me only, to disown these Principles fixed thereupon in the Proclamation, which, I said, I was ready to declare my Abhorrence of. Alas! what Reason was there for this? Could any having the Use, and Exercise of Reason or Conscience, be satisfied with it upon such a Shadow? If I had adverted to the genuine import of these Principles, there fastened on that Declaration, and inveighed against so viperously in the Proclamation, which I have before vindicated, durst I have been satisfied with it, or declared so much when I recanted it? To name no more than that which is insert in the Oath it self, IN SO FAR AS, War is declared against the King, I am sure I could not be satisfied in Conscience, with disowning of that, nor can I now be satisfied with declaring my Readiness to abhor it. This I think was a great Escape. 2. That I did not decline the Prelates desired Conference; but so simply did yield to the first Proposal of it. I think, I should rather have declared, I would have nothing to do with them, except I were forced. That Complement, That I was at Command, to confer with any whom they pleased, was very unsuitable. Alas! should I have such Regard to their Pleasure, and so little to the Truth, which they were set to impugn and oppose, which might suffer Wrong by my Weakness and insufficiency to plead for it? which I could not but be very conscious of; otherwise I was very forgetful of my self, or hatefully arrogant. 3. That I so foolishly and inconsiderately relapsed again into my former Error of subscribing my Confession over again, as the Clerk wrote it, meerly to give them Security, that I would not refile from it. This I think was worse than the first, and more inexcusable; because done after I rued the

the former. What shall I say? Alas! if this be my best and faithfullest Conference, I may have little Confidence in owning and subscribing my self one of CHRIST'S Confessors. However this was the Noise of that Day, and the more observable, that the Fellows that introduced me made such a Bustle about me in the outter House, which as I hinted before, had some influence to raise my Spirit to some more Resolution: For, after the Mace brought me out of the Tolbooth into the Parliament-House, there was some of the Guard there, that would have me in Custody, and the other would not part with me, alledging, it was an infringing of the Priviledge of that Court. The other contended it was their Priviledge. I did not understand the Debate, however, both the one and the other dragged me from one Side of the House to the other, and pulled me, and held me by the Arms very uncivilly, and in like Manner, when I had done, and was coming away, they began again their Contendings. But I was over-ruled to the Mace's Part, who carried me again to the Gentleman's Chamber, as I said. This was a Day of much Toil to me, for this foresaid Conflict I sustained in the Fore-noon: And in the After-noon they would not let me rest; but haled me out to the Bishops; after a little intermission, with whom I was kept three Hours debating. A Party of the Town's Guards conducted me thither.

My Conference with the Prelates, eodem Die.

THe same Day I was examined before the Lords of the Articles, some of the Prelates being present, as part of the *Lords Spiritual* Constituent of one of the Estates of Parliament, acting there for their Interest, and the Pomp of their Monarchy, desired and moved the *Chancellor*, to offer a Conference with me; Which I, tho' very much averse from it, fearing lest my Weakness and imparity of Parts, should wrong the Truth; yet, lest my declining it might either argue Diffidence in the Equity of my Cause, or prejudicate Obstinacy in an Opinion, which only Shame hindered to retract (a thing I was openly accused of) and lest my Denial might be constructed a wilful irritating of the Court against me, condescended to. And accordingly the same Afternoon, I was called before them, besides and beyond my Expectation. For I could scarce believe they were in Earnest, or at least, they would be so hasty with me: But what the Reason, or Design of their Precipitancy was, I can conjecture none other, than that they would take Advantage of my Hurry to confound me, or by involving me in the Heat of Debate, they would pump somewhat from me, either to my Detriment, or Disadvantage of the Cause I maintained. However they kept me long time, from a little past 3 till it was past 8 of the Clock at Night: Of the which Discourse, for the Satisfaction of Friends, I would here give some rude Account, as

to the most material Passages of it, professing, my Purpose is, not to give any accurate or full Narration of the Particulars of the Dispute, or in the Method it was managed (which by Reason of the Length of Time before I had Conveniency to write any thing of it, and many other incumbrances intervening, I cannot recollect, or bear in my Memory) only the Scope of it, take as follows.

When I came into the Chamber, where they were in the Counsel-House, I found three of them sitting, being (as I was informed since) the Two Arch-Prelates of St. *Andrews* and *Glasgow*, and the Prelate of *Dunkell*. After a while's silence, one of them had a Harangue, seeking leave first of the rest, to this Purpose, that such was the Respect and Regard they had to my Life and Youth, &c. and unfeigned desire of my better Information, and being brought off these dangerous Notions, so Dangerous both for Life and Conscience, that tho' they were called to wait upon weightier Matters, yet they were content to postpone all, to the desire they had of my Advantage at this Time : And therefore as they understood, I stuck upon some Points of Conscience, very Ticklish and Disputable, which yet may be I had not duely considered ; so they hoped I would not throw away my Life upon these things, out of an Humour of Obstinacy, and refuse what Reason they would offer for my Conviction; for, for that End, this Conference was appointed. The Harangue was Prolix to this Purpose, and I was never very prompt or skillful in making Extemporary Answers ; yet the LORD helped me to say something to the Effect following. I first Prefaced, that I must needs decline giving them their usual Titles, and that I hoped they did not expect them from me, nor would not be offended at my forbearance, for I durst not make use of any such Compellations, as might signifie my Respect to, or Approbation of their Office. They Answered, they could bear with that from me, tho' they believed they were in case to Justifie and Maintain their Titles before the World, or against it, somewhat to this purpose. Then I proceeded to tell them, that was not my Business at present to dispute Points of State with them ; I was a *Presbyterian*, and did own all *Presbyterian Principles*, and should be content to offer what light I had for them, or to hear what they had to say against any of them ; but I believed their purpose was, which was also my desire, to restrict their Discourse to these that rendered me so Obnoxious, and on which my Sufferings were stated, and for these I offered them freely, that, if they could produce better Arguments against them from Scripture or Reason of any convincing Force, than I had for them, I should be content to lay them down, but desired they should not cajole me into a blind implicitness, by Authority or Arguments taken therefrom ; and Promised, that

then they should not find me either Obstinate or Disingenuous, or standing upon any Humour or Honour, for I had none to look to but Honesty. They Professed with Protestations, a great tenderness to Conscience in things wherein the Conscience was concerned, but that those things that I endangered my self for, were small and disputable, no ways Fundamental. I thanked them for any regard they had to my Life, which I also did value much, for I told them I had not lived so long, and tho' I had been much afflicted, I had not been so devoid of the Comforts of Life, as to be weary of it, or throw it away for nothing. And tho' these Truths I maintained were Comparatively not so Material as some others, yet to me the least hoof or concern of Truth, was more Valuable than Life, or all interests of the World, and that I did not think them small, but great matter to me. If they were doubtful or disputable to me, I durst not throw away my Life so confidently for them; but now, the denying or doubting of them were a Manifest doing Violence to Conscience. I will rather suffer all Violence before I do that; but yet I will lay my self open to your Information. They told me, I might have Reason to suspect my own Opinion, being but a Young Man, and to be supposed not so well acquaint with those Controversies, nor of so Mature a Judgement to assert things in Contradiction to so many Eminent and Learned Men in all Ages. I confessed the Supposition was Rational upon these Grounds, but I had endeavoured to inform my self as well as I could. I could do no less then Embrace Light when it was offered. I had not troubled the World much with my Assertions, having long declined to give my Judgement in those things, until it was Extorted from me: But now if they would inform me better out of these Learned Men, I was willing to hear it, and receive it. So they Addressed themselves to it, and took their Turns about to propound their Arguments. But first they Interrogated me many things, as Preliminaries, tho' altogether Extraneous to the following debate, as first, *how Old I was?* I answered, I thought I was about 25 or 26 Years of Age. Then, *where I was Born?* And if my Father was a Presbyterian? And if he had any Fortune in the World? If he was an Heritor? All which I answered obviously. Then, *if I was Graduate?* And where? and how long ago? And *what was my Station and Study before I left Scotland?* I answered, my Station was to Teach Children, my Study was to be a Christian. Being asked in what Parish I Lived, I answered, in several Parishes, which I could not give a ready account of, being no great Observer of Parishes as now Constitute, nor Haunter of their Kirks. Then, *what Places of the World I had been in, in my Travels?* I told them. Then, *how long I had been in England?* I answered. Then, *in what Vocation I went Abroad and Travelled by Sea?* I answered, in that of a Chaplain of a Ship. And again, how

I officiated? Whether I Read Common Prayers or not? I answered no; I would never do that. Next, How the Ship's Company was pleased with me? I told them I could not tell, but they never expressed their Displeasure. Then, what Ministers I was acquainted with at London? I told them I could not give them an account, but I was acquainted with severals both Scotch and English, both Presbyterian and Independent. They asked, if I was acquainted with no Regulars Officiating in Churches? I said, no. They asked if I never went to hear none? I answered no, never. They said that was my great Disadvantage, for they were Learned Men. I said there were many Learned Men there. They asked, how the Presbyterians and Independents did agree? I answered, they had differences in Judgement, but these did not alienate their Affection and Sympathy; but they lived together as Brethren. Then they Interrogate me about several Men, which is not worth the Rehearsing. Neither was I willing to Answer, smelling out at last, what was the Tendency of that Multiplicity of Questions, only to try my Humour and Freedom. At length they came to the Matter, and said, They would reduce all these Opinions I was Tried for, to one Head, which they thought the Fountain and Spring of all; that was, That Principle of the Lawfulness of Private Subjects, using Defensive Arms against their Sovereign. They asked if I had Read Books on that Controversie. I told them, I had Read some. We doubt not, said they, but you have Read those of your own Party, as Lex Rex, and Nephthali, Jus Populi, &c. But did you ever Read and Consult their Antagonists, that are against that Thesis? I answered, I had never the Opportunity of Reading much, but yet I had seen some who had written against it, and of late one Mr. Sherlock against Resistance of the Sovereigns Power. The Reading of which did confirm me in my Judgement of the Lawfulness of that which he went to Confute, as much as ever any thing did, his Arguments are so weak, and his Expressions so unsavory. They asked me, if ever I had read the Fathers, Greek or Latine. I answered, I never had the Advantage of Reading much of them, tho' I could not deny but I had read some both Historians and others. No, said they, we believe you do not value the Fathers much. Yes said I, I would value the Opportunity of reading them, if I had it. Its too late now, said they, to expect Time to fall about that Study. And so went about to State the Question, which they formed to this purpose. Whether or not it was Lawful for Subjects, or a Party of them, when they thought themselves injured, or to be in a capacity, to resist or Oppose the Supreme Power of a Nation? I quarrelled at this stating of it, and Objected several things; as in the first place, That the Question is not, if when a Party think themselves injured, they may Resist; but when they are really injured, and not for every Reality of injury neither, but when their Nearest and Dearest Liberties and Rights

Civil and Religious were invaded, especially such an Invasion as threatens ineluctable Subversion of them, and not then in every case neither, if other Means to prevent it be Accessible ; but chiefly when all Addresses, Petitions, Remonstrances, are prohibited. Next, I thought not a Parties esteeming themselves in a capacity, or their being really in a capacity did make Resistance Lawful, except *ceteris paribus*, they had a Call as well as a Capacity ; they behoved to have both Necessity and a Right to the Action, and the things they were contending for were their real and Legal Rights, their Capacity gave them only a Conveniency and Encouragement to go about the thing that was previously Lawful on a Moral Ground ; And lastly, I alledged that it was not the Supreme Power that was formally intended to be Opposed *per se*, but only *per accidens*, the Person or Party invested with it happening to be on the side invading, and the Defenders were not to make Distinctions and Exceptions, but to defend their own. These things were several Times tossed, but I chuse rather to set them down as they now Occur, than in the Method they were then proposed. Against the first it was urged, *That the Question must needs be, when the People think themselves injured, for they have no other Rule to Regulate them, they will not, neither can they admit of an other Reference. ?* I answered, Their Thought is the Understanding they have of the Rule, but it is not their Rule, they could walk by no other understanding than their own, and it might be supposed they have the best of their own Grievances, and so it would only follow that when their thinking themselves injured was wrong, and only pretended, then the Resistance was unjust ; but when their Thoughts were true, then it were just. It was urged, *But who shall be Judge, whether they be really injured or not in their Rights and Liberties ? should they be Judges of their own Cause, then every Person or Party might claim the same Privilege ; this would confound all Judgment in the World.* I answered, That I thought that the Laws of the Kingdom should judge it, and the World and all impartial Spectators might Judge that : For when it comes to a Necessity of Resistance, it is to be supposed that the Grievances complained of, and sought to be redressed by Arms, are not hid but manifest. It is not so with any private Person, pretending particular injuries. It cannot be so with any Party only pretending their suffering wrong. It was urged again, *That the King and his Party with him might have as much and more Reason to Judge of the People's Indignity done to his Sovereignty, and that really they deserved to be so dealt with as they Complained, and in that case, who shall be Judge between the King and the People.* I answered, let GOD be Judge, who could only give the Eventual Decision ; but if no other Agreement could be made otherwise, I could

see no other way of Determining the case, but by standing Laws, and the clearest Evidence of their Respective Manifestos to the World of the State of their Cause. It was replied, *That is only the Rule of Judging, but who shall give a Judgment.* I answered, if the King and the People be supposed to be two Parties, I could not see how he could be both Judge and Party, for then he might claim that Prerogative in every case. They said, *The King can never be a Party, but always a Judge.* I alledged, that he could not be in the supposed case, for that would Establish Tyranny in the World. *But shall the People be Judges, said they, over their King?* then they descanted on People's Dethroning their Kings, and reducing them, at some length, which is neither fit nor possible for one to rehearse. I remember I told them, that this was no act of Judgment for a People to Defend their own. Defence is no Act of Jurisdiction, but a Privilege of Nature. Much more was spoken of fixing of a Judge to those cases of Opposition between a King and his People. I remember when I said, that for a People's Religious Rights there could be no Judge, but the *Norma*, which is the Scriptures; They replied to this purpose, *that then there would never be an end of the Controverſie*; I said, if that would not hold, then we must flee to the Old Plea of a Pope, or a General Council. They said, *the King must have the Judgment of what Religion he will have professed in his Kingdoms, and Subjects have no remedy but submissive Suffering.* I said to this Effect, that Subjects must have the Discretive Judgment, what Religion they will Embrace, and when it is Established as a Land-Right, they might contend for it sometimes otherwise than by Suffering. When the State of the Question was allowed to be Reformed, I made it to this Effect. *Whether it be Lawful for a Community of the Subjects of a Land, when really injured and deprived, or unavoidably threatened to be deprived of their Nearest and Dearest Liberties, Lives, Fortunes, &c. And all Redress otherwise by Remonstrances, &c. is rendered inaccessible, to defend themselves and their Religion, &c. by Arms against their Princes Emissaries?* I affirmed it was. They gave the Contradiction to it, in this Position, or to this purpose, *That it was noways Lawful in any case, or upon any pretence whatsoever to resist the Sovereign Power of a Nation, in whomsoever it was resident, whether a single Person or State, and which way soever it were Erected, whether by Hereditary Succession or Election or Conquest.* I was required first to prove the contrary, which I would have Addressed myself to do, and offered the Heads that I would insist on the Probation, viz. from the Law of Nature, Practice of Nations, and Scripture. Others Opposed that, insinuating as much as a Promise (or rather threatening) of another Hearing of that Matter, and willed rather their Lordships to Propone the Arguments for my Conviction and Confutati-

on. I shall only hint at some Heads of them as they Occur. One was taken from the *Practice of our Saviour, the best Example, who both in the Tract of his Life lived peaceably under the then Government, and at his Death he could have resisted, but would not.* I answered, Suffering was the End of His Voluntary suscepled Humiliation, and his Errand to the World appointed by the Father, and undertaken by Himself. That is not the Rule of our Practice. It was Replied, *Even in his Suffering he left us an Ensamble, that we should follow His Steps.* I answered; its true in many things, as he was a *Martyr*, His Sufferings were the purest Rule and Example for us to follow, both for the Matter and Frame of Spirit, Submission, Patience, Constancy, Meekness, &c. But not as he was our *Sponsor*, and after the same manner. For then it were unlawful for us to flee, as well as to resist. They instanced that Scripture, *Rom. 13. as an Express Proof*, repeating the 1, 2, and 5, Verses. I replied I would pick my Answer out of the Verses they had skipped. That I thought indeed it was damnable to resist the Excellent Ordinance of GOD, or any Powers acting as becomes Persons Cloathed therewith, keeping their Line of Subordination to GOD, and Subserviency to the Ends of their Erection, as being not a Terror to good Works, as the Ministers of GOD, &c. But otherways to resist the Abuse of the Power, was not a resisting of the Power. It was urged, *That all Powers there are ordained of GOD, and therefore, be what they will, not to be resisted.* I answered, all Powers are not such as are there described, for there are Qualifications of the Persons and Powers not to be resisted. It was Replied, *These are not Qualifications of the Powers, but Motives for our Subjection and Obedience.* I answered, they are so, but they could not be Motives, except they were found true in the Persons. But, said they, *There all Power is ordained of GOD, be what it will.* I answered, all Power is ordained of GOD by His *Providential Will*, but not every Power assumed of Men, is so by His *Approbative and Preceptive Will*. One of the Prelates said, *That even His Providential Will is not to be resisted.* I answered, that the Holy Product of it cannot and may not, but the Instrument he made use of sometimes might be resisted. I granted, that even Tyrants, when GOD lays on this Yoke as our Punishment, must be Subjected to, as a Plague, but not always to be submitted to, when he gives a capacity to shake off the Yoke. Otherways the Devil must not be resisted, for he is the Prince of this World by Permissive Providence. It was urged, *That Nero was then Regnant, when this Command of Non-resistance was given.* I answered, that the Command was given in General for our Instruction, how to carry in our Duties. under Lawful Magistrates, abstracting from Nero. And I thought it was hard to prove that Nero was then a Tyrant, I have read of the *Quinquennium Neronis*, wherein he Reigned very

very well. And however I alledged, that an ill Man might sometimes be a good Magistrate. They said, *That was a great Confession from me.* Then I was asked, *if I owned that Article of our Confession of Faith, That difference in Religion or Infidelity, could not make void the Magistrate's just Power or Greatness?* I said I did with all my Heart. They asked, *how I could reconcile that with that Principle of Resistance?* I said, very easily, For (1st.) the difference in Religion did not make void his Power, yet it might stop from admitting to that Power, where that Religion he differed from, was Established by Law. But waving that at this time, tho' it did not make void his Power, yet his Subjects differing from him, might defend theirs. Again, a King might differ in Religion from his Subjects several ways; some might be Educate, and always continue in a different Religion. Others might fall from that, which sometimes they Professed. Some might not only Profess the same Religion with their Subjects, but engage by Covenant to maintain it, and on these Terms be admitted to the Government, and yet fall from it. Some again may not only Apostatise, but Persecute the Faithful Professors of it, and go to destroy them and their Religion. I think in that case he may be resisted, and they may Defend their own, not meddling with his Religion. Another Scripture Argument was brought from 1 Peter 2. 13. &c. I answered, I was endeavouring to Answer that Command now in this my Suffering Lot, I must and do submit. They replied, *That is but Forced and not Conscientious.* I said, they would not require active Obedience to every Pleasure of every Ordinance of Man. They said, *Passive, at least, is required.* Well said I, all that is forced, Suffering is always forced. But I alledged, that Submission there required, was very consistent with Defensive Arms in some cases. They might submit to the Government, and yet defend themselves against unjust Violence. We had some wrangling about this. Then they argued, *from the Example of the Primitive Christians, who, they could demonstrate, were many Times in a Capacity to resist, and yet did it not,* I told them, that was a dispensation of Suffering; I could not well tell what capacity they were in sometimes, or whether they did not sometimes resist; but I thought the case was not alike, and if we were stated in the same Circumstances, living under the *Turks* Government, having no Vote in the Law, nor no Priviledges of *Legal-Land-Right* to our Religion, I could not tell, but we might do as they did, if the LORD Spiritued us as he did them. Then I offered to prove, it hath been the Laudable, at least not condemned Practice of many Christian Nations. I instanced the carrying on of our Work of Reformation at Home, and the *Bohemians*, and *French*, and *Hollanders* Resistance. They said, *these were not so much respected and proposed for Imitation, as the Primitive Christians;*

and besides, said they, these acted by Authority in the Subordinate Magistrate as Parliaments, &c. I answered, I owned indeed, some of our Writers, for Defence, did maintain only that carried on by the Ephori or Primores Regni, but I could not stick there; for I thought, that was no Authority; but that of Subjects resisting their Prince, and Defence was no Act of Authority, but a Privilege of Nature, common to all. They urged much the Old saying, *Preces & Lachryma, &c. Prayers and Tears are the Churches Arms.* I granted they were so, the only best prevailing Arms; and without which, all others would be ineffectual, and that they were the only Ecclesiastick or Spiritual Arms of a Church, as a Church; but the Members thereof were Men, and as Men, they might use the same Weapons that others did. When I offered to plead from the Law of Nature, as that which could not Contradict the revealed Law of CHRIST, and which was not the Grant or Donative of Princes, nor to be dispensed with or abandoned to their Pleasure: They had some quibbling Sophisms, *That if this were the Law of Nature, then in no case it ought to be laid aside, then a Man should resist always, and he can no more part with his Resistance than with his Life; and therefore, said they, if you were going to be Hang'd, you ought to Fight and Resist for your Life.* I answered, that were not a mean to preserve my Life. And besides, it is an affirmative Duty not obliging *ad semper, at all times.* At which one of them wondered how that could be. I confess I wondered at that Bishop's Ignorance. The same Man asked, *if I thought it were lawful for a Man Voluntarily to bind himself to Slavery, whether that was consistent with the Law of Nature?* I answered, I thought no, where he can have his Liberty. Then said he, *How do you Read of the Hebrew Servant his Voluntarily giving his Ear to be bored to his Master's Door.* I answered, That was his Contentment to be a Servant for ever, not his Slave, for he could not be Sold as such. Many other things past that have escaped my Memory. But I remember, they spoke of hearing my Arguments another time. Then fell again Exhorting, *That I would seriously ponder, whether these things be of such weight, as to lose my Life for them.* I answered, I reckoned I was a Prisoner for Conscience, and I was also a Prisoner to Conscience, bound by the Bonds of its Authority, to own what I understood to be Truth, and if they could loose me from these Bonds, I was content to retract and be better informed. Then they began to make Proposals to me, *that I might save my Life, if I would but engage to Live Peaceably under the Government of Church and State.* I told them I was not charged with any unpeaceable Practice; yea, but said they, *your Principles are inconsistent with the Peace of the Government.* I told them I did not think so, but that they were very Consonant with the Gospel of Peace; but for engaging to Live Peaceably, I could do

it very well in the General, for I am a lover of Peace, but I thought it would argue I had been Guilty of the Breach of it formerly, and suspected, they and I would not agree in the explaining of that Peace, for I believed, whatever it were, it should be such a living peaceably as would contradict my way of Living, and that for which I am a Prisoner. They said, *by living peaceably they meant that I would not rise against the King, and submit to the Government of Church and State.* I answered, As for the Government of the State in many things I profess my self a Malecontent. Then they made three Offers whereby I might have my Life, *viz. If I would go and hear the Regular Incumbent in any Parish I pleased to reside in. Or next, if I would not do that, if I would engage to forbear Preaching, or at least in the last place, I would engage and give it under my Hand never to Preach that Doctrine I had maintained even now before them.* I refused them all, and to the last I told them I was a Prisoner for Truth, and tho' I should Die for it, I had rather remain so and suffer the worst of it, before I kept any Truth a Prisoner. Then they threatened Death, and that within a very short Time. Nay, one of them proceeded to threaten Damnation for owning such Principles, and so went away. One Passage I had forgot, that for a considerable Time before I was Dismissed, Sir William Paterson, and the Clerk of the Justiciary came in and heard our Debates, and before the close Sir William challenged me for a Passage in my Letter where I reported, *he confessed, that in some case the King might be resisted.* I then affirmed before him it was true, and Attested the other Clerk, who answered, he did not remember any such thing; Then I repeated before them the case that he confessed. *If the King were Distracted or came furiously to kill me without a Cause, I might defend myself: O!* but, said one of the Prelates, *you indulge your self in your fanciful Suppositions of things that rarely fall out, and are so improbable, that they are next to impossibilities.* I answered, it was not impossible but a King might be Distracted as well as another Man, and that such as had their Wits might do, and cause be done Distracted Acts. And for instance, I told them one Story which I had proper Knowledge of, *viz. Of the Young King of Bantam, who when he got the Government in his Hands, by his Father's Resignation, he killed with his own Hands many of his Subjects and caused them to be Murdered without any Cause, which was the Reason of his Subjects present Revolt, which yet the late King of England justified by his sending for their Relief, Ammunition, &c.* I shall here abruptly close this confused Relation of that very Conference I was so weary in the Time of it, that I could not stand, and so weary in writing it, that I cannot sit longer. I was from thence carried back to Prison, to the Gentleman's-Chamber. But before I was taken thither, the

Prélates departing in a Huff, left me alone in the Room a pretty space, and forgot to give Orders concerning me to the Soldiers, who were waiting in the Outter-Room. After I had stayed so long alone, that I wondered what was intended to be done with me, I came forth of the Room, and the Soldiers in all Civility and (as I thought) seriously asked me if I was free; for they had no Orders about me. I answered, I knew nothing of it, and so I continued talking with the Soldiers, until a Macer came running in great haste and no little fray, with an Order to take me to Prison, which was done as above said.

Here also, I may have sad and sorrowful Reflections, in tracing back many Footsteps of Folly and Feebleness in the foregoing Conference, (which was my very great Oversight, that ever I consented to it) wherein I cannot but remark many Short-comings of that Zeal, and indignation I should have had against such infamous Antagonists, the adjured, perjured, and conjured Enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and his Work of Reformation in this Church and Kingdom; and of that Respect I should have had for the Weight and importance of that Truth, for which I offered to plead and suffer, an Honour that I was never either worthy, or capable of. As, 1st. I am very displeased with my self, that I should have trifled away an excellent Opportunity, offered in the very Entry, of a Testimony against this Antichristian Prelacy, which hath been the Matter of the Church of Scotland's Witnessings and Wrestlings these many Years, and against that abominable Adjunct of their Hierarchical Usurpation upon, and Tyrannical Domination over the Church of CHRIST. Their arrogating to themselves the Title of *Lordship*; by which if there were no more, they plainly declare themselves not to be the Servants, or Ministers of JESUS CHRIST, in the Work of his Gospel; because they make themselves, & would be accounted, and challenge the Deference of being *Lords over GOD's Heritage*, which yet I pitifully passed over in a silly Complement, *That I hoped they did not expect that Title from me, and would not be offended at my Forbearance*. Wherein I was more tender of offending them, whom I should have disdained (with indignation) to gratify, than of offending my own Conscience afterwards, and the Generation of the Righteous, enquiring after my Demeanour herein. And declaredly did decline that required Testimony, in saying, *It was not my Business at present, to dispute that Matter with them, which ignorantly I called, Points of State*; whereas now, upon second Thoughts, I know no other Business so proper I had with them, as to have testified against the Absurdity of that presumptuous Arrogation, and their Perjury, and Perfidy and Wickedness, as Enemies of CHRIST, in overturning such a glorious Work of Reformation, and setting up themselves as Heads and Ringleaders of a *Se-*
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parate Schismatick Party in the Land, which now monopolize to themselves the Name of a Church. And to have brought the Debate to this Head only, which would have been more proper, pertinent and profitable, honest and honourable; without any Disparagement to that great Truth debated, which was very weighty. *2ly.* I cannot reflect upon that pedantick Kind of Preamble, to such a grave and weighty Matter, there and then to be handled, without Shame for the Scandal that's in it, and Sorrow for the Sin of it. I think it scandalous, that I, or the like of me, having to do with such cunning suttile Sophists, should have shown such presumptuous Self-Confidence, and that hypocritically cloathed with a Mask of seeming Humility in that Offer I made, more like a bragging Bravo, entering the Lists of School-Disputes, than a humble earnest Contender for Truth: When I said, *That if they could produce better Arguments against these Truths, from Scripture or Reason, of any convincing Force, than I had for them, I should be content to lay them down.* Here was Presumption, not upon the impregnable Foundation of the Truths themselves: But upon the Pregnancy of my own Arguments for them, and the Value I put upon my own Wit, compared with theirs; whereby I both exposed my self to the Snares of their Sophistry, and boldly and blindly ventured the Stress of my Faith, upon the Strength of my Dispute with them; and upon that vain Venture offered a Submission and Recantation, if they should confound me; and declared I would lay my self open to their information, and *if they would inform me better out of these learned Men, I was willing to hear it, and receive it.* Alas! I did not think of the Danger of this: Nor was I suitably sensible of my own Weakness, or of the Greatness of the Truth I there laid at Stake. But herein I did as foolishly as a Child would do, that should throw down a precious Jewel, when threatened to be robbed of it, and give a Challenge to the Robbers to win it and wear it. It were greater Wisdom for the Child to keep it in his Grips, and fight for it as he can, than thus to expose it; so it should have been my Resolution, and I should have declared it, that whether they won me by Dispute or no; yet, I would not part with it; knowing it was a Truth, tho' I could not maintain it answerably. It was a Wonder of Mercy, that the LORD did not leave me to be confounded before them. *3ly.* I am dissatisfied with my silly Simplicity I discovered before they came to the Question, in answering all their multiplied Interrogatures, very impertinent for them to ask, save as they were subservient to their intrapping Design, and shewed a great deal of Ignorance in me to answer; which I discovered at length, when I smelt out the Tendency of them, which was at best to try my Humour and Freedom; I think rather I should have declined these imper-

tinencies, out of Disdain to have more talk with them than needs. *I had* declined a far more necessary Matter before in the Entry of the Discourse, when *I* had Occasion to dispute their Titles and Functions; and to have questioned them about their Practices and Manner of Life, and Treachery and Truculency, hateful to GOD and Man: But *I* always inclined to the easiest Part of it. 4ly. Many other Escapes may be remarked in my Management of this great and weighty Question, manifesting great Faintness and Feebleness in the Manner, and great Disproportion between the Weight of the Matter, and the Frame and Capacity of the Manager of this Dispute; which for Brevity, *I* would rather sigh over my Reflections on them in my own Mind, than enlarge a Declaration of them in Paper. Only in the general, *I* think it offensive, and an Argument of my Folly and Faintness, whereby *I* put my self to a Loss, and gave them Advantage, that being to debate upon this Subject of *Defensive Arms, and active Resistance*, against unjust Violence, by whomsoever offered; and knowing this to have been the Practice and Matter of suffering of the LORD's People, in this Generation (in this Debate by the Prelates designed to be impugned, and which *I* resolved to defend) which manifestly was an Opposing of Tyranny: And knowing also, That the Opposers of this Truth universally, and our present Persecuters particularly, do extend their Position in the general, to all opposing of, or resisting even Tyrants, *That upon no Pretext whatsoever, a Prince is to be resisted by Arms*: Yet *I* restricted the Debate to the resisting of lawful Princes, when there was no Access to maintain their Religion and Liberties any other way; whereas it would have been more apposite to the Practice of the LORD's People in these times, and more easie and advantageous for my Purpose, and more consonant to their *Antithesis* of my Assertion, to have extended the Debate, SO FAR AS to take in both Resistance against the Abuse of a Lawful Power, and also Resistance against the Use and Usurpation of Tyrannical Power: Hence *I* was much over-seen in this Respect, both in my stating of the Question with that forementioned Restriction (tho' it be a great Truth as so stated, but not so pat to the Controversie of these Times) and in my correcting their stating of it, wherein *I* alledged, *That it was not the Supreme Power, that was formally intended to be opposed per se, but only per accidens, the Person, or Party invested with it, happening to be on the Side invading.* Now this is indeed a Truth, when restricted to a Lawful Sovereign Power abusing Authority. That is not opposed *per se*, but only *per accidens*; there is no Opposition to the Power, but only to the Abuse of it, and to the Person while concurring in that Abuse. But it is not true of resisting Tyrants; for they are to be opposed *per se*, as well

as *per accidens*; and the Power it self is to be resisted, and fought to be rescinded, and cut off, as well as the Effects of it; as shall be found to be the Case of our Resistance against the present Powers, whensoever it is rightly stated. But by this dastardly Distinction I gave my Antagonists Occasion to think, my Judgment was of our Resistance at *Barthwel*, &c. that it was only owned in the first Case; and only stated against the Abuse, and some Mal-administrations of a Lawful Monarch; and that I gave and granted, That the Object of all our Defensive War was a rightful Magistrate; which I was far from thinking in my Conscience. The contrary whereof I shall declare afterwards. But now taking the Question complexly, as comprehending both the Cases, *viz.* both Resistance against *Lawful Rulers*, in the Abuse of their Power, offering unjust Violence upon a Peoples Lives, or Liberties; and *usurping Tyrants*, in the Exercise of their Power; Because in the Conference I offered, some *Heads*, whereon I would found my Arguments; I shall now essay to make my Offer good in Contradiction to the Prelates *Antithesis*, to the State of my Question, which was, *That it is no ways lawful in any Case, or upon any Pretence whatsoever, to resist the Sovereign Power of a Nation, in whomsoever it be resident, and which Way soever it be erected, whether by Succession, or Election, or Conquest.* The Heads that I offered to insist on were from the *Law of Nature, Practice of Nations and Scripture*; which are very great and momentuous Arguments, and of greater and larger Extent, than I can here with any Proportionableness prosecute. I shall therefore omit the first two, containing the Legal and Rational Part of the Controversie, referring to our famous, deservedly renowned, worthy and learned, invincible Patrons of, and Champions for that excellent Privilege of Mankind, the unanswerable Authors of *Lex Rex, Nephtali* and *Jus Populi vindicatum*; with whose Judgment and Arguments I cordially subscribe my Assent and Satisfaction. And because I think it most suitable to the Way of a suffering Confessor of Truth, the Honour of which is my only Ambition; I shall only, 1. Hint at some *Historical Instances of the Practice of the LORD's People, in a suffering Lot, worthy of Imitation in this Case.* And 2. Remember some *Scripture Proofs, for this Truth, the only sure Foundation and Warrant of a Christian's suffering for any thing.* And these very briefly. *First*, For Histories, I shall not enlarge on instances, that might be multiplied from the Records of all Ages, nor so much as touch on any, but the Practices of the People of GOD under Persecution, which are best known, and most unexceptionable, drawing an Argument there from *ab Exemplis*, which to condemn were impious, and to deny were most impudent, which for Form's sake may run thus; *What the People of GOD, under both Dispensations of the Covenant,*

both the Old and New Testaments, have most frequently done in Times of Persecution, for defending, vindicating or recovering their Religion and Liberties, may be done again in the like Circumstances, when these are in the like Hazard. But, Under both Dispensations, both in the Old and New Testaments, the People of GOD frequently, in Times of Persecution, have defended, vindicate or recovered their Religion and Liberties, by Defensive Arms, resisting the Sovereign Powers, that sought to destroy them. Ergo, This may may be done again, when these Religious, Civil and Natural Priviledges are in the like Hazard to be destroyed, by the violent Encroachments of the Sovereign Powers. The Major Proposition cannot be denied, except by them that will profess themselves Enemies to the People of GOD, and Condemners of their most frequently reiterated Practice, most solemnly and signally owned of GOD, to the Confusion of their Enemies, to the Conviction of the World, that the Cause for which they contended was of GOD, and so the Encouragement of all the Patrons of the same Cause, to hope, that when it is at the lowest, it shall have a Reviving and glorious Issue. It is true, sometimes they did not resist, when either they were not in a Capacity, or did not see a Call to such an Action; but were extraordinarily spirited of the LORD for Passive Testimonies, under suffering Dispensations: But it is as true, that many times they did resist, when the LORD capacitated, called and spirited them for Active Testimonies: And therefore, if their Sufferings under these Circumstances, may be imitated by a People so stated: Then also their Actions, under these other Circumstances, may be imitated by a People in the like Case. And by an impartial Scrutiny it will be found, That the Examples of their endeavoured Resistance will be little inferior in Number, or Importance, to the Examples of their submissive Sufferings in all Ages; which will appear in the Probation of the *Minor Proposition* of the Argument, by Ad-
ducing of many Instances, which I shall only cursorily glean out of that plentiful Harvest, that Histories afford. Beginning under the Old Testament Dispensation, where the Scripture leaves off.

First then, I need only to glance at that known, and famous History of the Maccabees, of undoubted Verity, tho' not of Canonical Authority, in which, according to Scripture-Predictions, we have a notable Account of Heroick Enterprizes, and Achievements and Exploits performed by them that knew their GOD, and tendered his Glory, and their Religion, and Country's Liberties, above the common Catachrestick Notions of incontrollable, irresistible Royalty, and absolute implicate Loyalty, that have abused the World in all Ages. We have an Account of the Noble and succesful Resistance of a Party of a few Godly and Zealous Patriots, without the Concurrence of Civil Authority, or Countenance of the E-
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phori or *Priniores Regni*, against a King universally acknowledged and subjected unto, *that came in peaceably, and obtained the Kingdom by Flatteries*, with whom the greatest Part, and those of the greatest Note took Part, and did wickedly against the Covenant, and Nation's Interest, and were corrupt by Flatteries; yet a few Priests, with the Concurrence of some common Country Men, did go to Arms against him and them, and the LORD did wonderfully assist them for a considerable Time, as was foretold by *Daniel*, Chap. i. l. This fell out under the Persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and was happily begun by *Matthias*, a Godly Priest, and his five Sons, who being commanded under severe Certifications, to worship according to the then Law, and the King's wicked Lust, did valiantly resist that *Abomination*, and went to Defensive Arms, which while living he patronized, and when adying, did encourage his Sons to it, by a notable Oration, showing, what Case his Country was in, and what a Duty and Dignity, it was to redeem and deliver it. This was vigorously prosecute by *Judas Maccabeus*, expressly for the Quarrel of Religion and Liberty, against that mighty Tyrant, and all his Emissaries. I need give no other Historical Instances under that Legal and more rigid Dispensation, for the Scripture is very full of them, as shall appear in the next Head of Arguments.

But now, to come to the History of the Gospel Dispensation, it is true in the time of the Primitive Persecutions under Heathen Emperors, this Privilege of Self-defence was not much improved or contended for by Christians, who studied more to *Play the Martyrs*, than to *Play the Men*; because under these Circumstances the LORD was pleased to Spirit them for, and call them unto, and accept of their Hands only Passive Testimonies, while they were Incorporate under a civil Relation with the Heathens, in Subjection to Governors, who did not by open Tyranny, overturn their civil Liberties, only did endeavour to eradicate Religion, which at that Time never became their Right by Law. while they were Scattered, and out of Capacity, and never could come to a separate formed Community by Joynt Concurrence and Correspondence, to undertake a declared Resistance, while Religion was only Propagating through the Nations, and the LORD did Providentially Preclude the least appearance that might be of Propagating it by any Armed Force, being the Gospel of Peace, designed to save and not to destroy; yet even then, as *Jus Populi* gives several Examples of Christians defending themselves, and rescuing their Ministers and Martyrs; so more might be adduced; if they were of Consequence to insist on. But when Religion was once imbraced in embodied Corporations, and Established by Law, and became a Peoples common Interest and Liberty, in a capacity to defend it with their Lives

and Liberties, and when it was Propagated, then the LORD did call for other more active Testimonies in the Preservation and defence of it, of which we have many instances in Histories relating Tyrants Persecutions; as the *Bohemians* many times, both under the Heathenish and Popish Persecutions. About the Year 894, the Christians resisted *Drahomica* Queen of *Bohemia*, who thought to have destroyed them, and re-introduced *Paganism*. About the Year 1420, they maintained a long Defensive War against the Government and the Pope's Legats, under the Management of their brave Captain *Zisca*, which was further Prosecuted, after him, by the remaining *Thaborites*. And again in that Country, anno 1618, they maintained a Defensive War against the Emperor *Ferdinand* the 2d. Electing and Erecting a new King in Opposition to him, *Frederick Palatine of the Rhine*, in which cause many received the Crown of Martyrdom.

If we look to the History of the *Waldenses*, these constant Opposers of Antichrist, we will find many instances of their resistance. About the Year 1194 very early, while *Waldo* (from whom they had their Name) was alive, they began to defend themselves by Arms, after the Bloody Edict of *Alphonfus* King of *Aragon*) an Edict so like to many of ours Emittted this Day, that, as it would seem, our Enemies have taken the Copy of it, so it were very seemly for the People grieved with such Edicts, to imitate the Copy of the *Waldenses* their Practice in opposition to them. Anno 1488 they resisted by Arms *Albert de Capitaneis* sent by Pope *Innocent* the 8th in *Pragola* and *Frassaniere*, and throughout *Piedmont*; where for the most part the Off-spring of the Old *Waldenses* had their Residence, where very evidently through many Successions of Ages, they showed themselves to be the true Successors of their Worthy Progenitors, Valiant for the Truth. That's a Famous instance of their Resistance, in opposing so Vigorously the Lord of *Trinity* in that same *Piedmont*, at which Time they solemnly asked their Ministers, *whether it were not lawful to defend themselves against his Violence*, who answered Affirmatively, and accordingly, they did it with wonderful Success. At that time, and many Times thereafter; especially, it is not out of the Memory of this present Age, How anno 1655, a Vigorous Defensive War was Prosecuted against the Duke of *Savoy* by their Captains, *Gianavel*, *Jahier*, &c. Which was Espoused by many Protestant Princes. I might instance also the *Waldenses* of *Calabria*, anno 1560, who took up defensive Arms in the Time of Pope *Pius* the 4. If we look over the Histories of the *Abigences*, we find many instances of their Defensive Resistance of their oppressing Superiors. About Anno 1200, they defended themselves at *Beziers* and *Carcaſson*, against the Pope's Legate and his crossed Soldiers, under the

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Conduct first of the Earl of *Beziers*, and then of the Earl of *Foix*, and the Earl *Remond* of *Thoulouse*, and were helped by the *English*, who then Possessed *Guienne*, bordering upon *Thoulouse*; which Resistance continued several Years. Afterwards, *Anno 1226*, they maintained a Resistance against the King of *France*, and against his Son, &c. If we take a Glance of the *Germans*, we will find, at the very Commencement of the Reformation, as soon as they got the Name of Protestants, they resisted the Emperor *Charles 5th.* before *Anno 1547.* And in that Country many times. If we but cast an Eye over to the *Hollanders*, we will find how much they stand obliged to this Principle of Defensive Arms, having thereby recovered both Religion and Liberty, and Established themselves into a Flourishing State. We find in the time of the Duke d' *Alva's* Persecution, they began to defend *Haerlem* and *Valenciennes* in *Hennault*, which were Besieged; and went on till under the Conduct of *William of Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, they declared the King of *Spain* to be fallen from the Government of these Countries, and so effectually shoke off the Yoke of *Spanish* Tyranny. If we go to the *French Huguenots*, we will find many instances among them, and many brave Heroes raised up to maintain this, I am pleading for, of Older and Latter date. The History of the Civil Wars of *France* is stored with the Trophies. The Memoirs of *Condé* and *Coligni* are yet fragrant; and after the *Parisian Massacre*, we find the Resistance of *Sancerre*, *Anno 1573*, and *Rochel* then and since. If we send to the *Poles*, we are furnished with a late instance of their Resistance, against the Sovereign Powers at *Lefia* in *Poland*, *Anno 1655.* And Generally, where-ever the Reformation was received, we find this Principle Espoused, and the Practice of it Prosecuted. In *Scotland*, especially this hath ever been owned and witnessed unto, and wrestled for, as a great Testimony and Inamissible Priviledge of all well affected to the cause of *CHRIST*, and interest of their Country; and was ever blessed with Success, until the cause was betrayed by our Treachery, and Abandoned by our base Cowardice, into the Hands of these Tyrants that have overturned all, for which the LORD in His Holy Jealousie and Indignation, Discountenances all our endeavours of this Nature, cutting us off, and putting us to shame, and disdains to go forth with our Armies. The Instances are so Nottour, both in Queen *Mary's* Time and, in King *James*, and in King *Charles* the first's Time, that I need not adduce them.

But 2. From Scripture Proofs; I shall but briefly gather some of the many that might be pressed, which being put together to me, seem impregnable. I shall reduce them to these Heads. 1. I shall adduce some Practices of the LORD's People, frequently reiterated, never condemned, always approven, confirming this Point. 2. Some severe Re-

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prehenſions for their Omiſſion, of this Duty in the Season thereof. 3. Some Promiſes both of Spiriting for the Duty, and of Countenancing it when undertaken. 4. Some Prayers Supplicating for it. All which put together will make a ſtronge Argument.

First, for *Practices* of this kind, There is nothing more common in Scripture Hiſtory. 1. I ſhall begin at the firſt War that is Recorded in the World, wherein ſome Loſs fell to the Godly at firſt, but afterwards, by the Vertue and Valour of their Brethren they were Vindicated, and the Victory recovered with Honour; *Lot* and his Family living in *Sodom* was involved in the common Calamity. and Hazard, with the reſt of the Subjects of the *Plain*, who were engaged in a Rebellion againſt *Chedorlaomer* King of *Elam* and his Confederates, *whom they had ſerved Twelve Years, and in the Thirteenth Year they Rebelled, and in the Fourteenth Year they were Conquered* (*Gen. 14. 4, and 5. &c.*) and among the reſt, *Lot* was taken (*V. 12.*) but *Abraham* hearing of it, armed his Trained Servants 318, and Purſued them to *Dan*, and reſcued him. *V. 14, 16.* thereby juſtifying that Rebellion, by taking part with, and vindicating the Rebels. Here I argue thus. *He that may reſcue Subjects from the Violence of any Tyrannizing Domination by Arms, may alſo riſe with thoſe Subjects to Oppoſe that Violence. But Abraham did here reſcue Subjects from the Violence of Chedorlaomer's Tyrannizing Domination, Ergo, alſo he might and would have riſen with them to Oppoſe that Violence.* 2. After the LORD's People were Poſſeſſed of *Canaan*, and forgetting the LORD, did enter in Affinity with theſe interdicted Nations, ſome of theſe Nations were left to prove *Israel*, that the Generations of the Children of *Israel* might know to teach them War, *Judges 3. 1, 2.* And when they did evil in the ſight of the LORD, he ſold them into the Hand of *Cuſhan Riſhathaim* King of *Mefopotamia*, *whom they ſerved* and were Subject to Eight Years. *V. 8.* But when they cryed unto the LORD, their Rebellion, ſhaking off that Yoke of that Conqueror's Servitude, was Succeſſful under the Conduct of *Othniel*, *V. 10.* And after a Relapſe into the like Deſection, they became Subject to *Eglon* King of *Moab*, whom they ſerved Eighteen Years. *V. 14.* but attempting the ſame Remedy by Arms under the Conduct of *Ehud*, they recovered their Liberty. *V. Seq. ad fin.* And after his Death falling into that Sin again, which procured the like Miſery, they became ſubject to *Jabin* King of *Canaan*, that Reigned in *Hazor* who had 900 Chariots of Iron, and 20 years he mightily Oppreſſed the Children of *Israel*, *Judges 4. 1, 2, 3.* but by the LORD's Command, under the Conduct of *Deborah* and *Barak* they rebelled and prevailed, *V. 6, &c.* Whence I take two Arguments. 1. *If it was the LORD's Deſign in letting Tyrants and Oppreſſors prevail over his People*

ple to teach them War, (which only could be against these Tyrants and Oppressors to whom they were subject) then when they were so Oppressed they might put that to Practice ; But it was the LORD's Design in letting the Lords of the Philistines, and other Oppressing Tyrants prevail over his People, to teach them War, &c. Ergo, when they were so Oppressed, they might and did put that in practice, in defending themselves against their Superiors that Oppressed them. 2. If the LORD's People serving a Sovereign Domineering Power, may shake off the Toke of their Subjection, then may they defend themselves by Resistance against them. (for there is no other way of shaking it off) but the LORD's People serving a Sovereign Domineering Power, may (as is clear by these Examples) shake off the Toke of their Subjection to them. Ergo, they may defend themselves against them. Object. If any Cavit, that these were not their own Kings to whom they owed Allegiance, but only invading Conquerors, whom they might Resist. I answer, first, yet they were the Sovereign Powers for the Time ; and therefore if Royalists and Loyalists Grounds hold good, they ought upon no pretence whatsoever to have been Resisted, and tho' they were not indeed by Compact their own Kings, yet by Conquest they were, and also by their own Consent, when they subjected themselves and payed them King's Dues, viz. Tribute, &c. 2. No more are they our own Kings, who either intrude themselves into an Arbitrary Domination over us, (without any Terms of a Compact upon a pretence of Hereditary Succession) or being our Covenanted Kings, overturn all the Conditions of their Compact, and degenerate into Tyrants. To such we owe no Allegiance, more than *Israel* did to these Dominators. 3. I retort that Old *recocta crumbe*, who should be judge whether they were their own Lawful Kings or not? for they acted as Kings, and thought themselves their Absolute Lords, and gave themselves out to be such, and yet we find an approved Rebellion against them. 4. When *Israel* did evil again in the sight of the LORD, they were subjected to the Domination of the Princes of *Midian*, who ruled over them seven Years, but when they cryed unto the LORD, *Gideon* was raised up to enterprise their Deliverance by a forcible Resistance, who by a very few Men did wonderfully accomplish it according to Divine Commision and Command, *Judges* 6 and 7 Chap. And having called his Brethren out of all Mount *Ephraim*, into a Conjunction with him in the Pursuit of his Victory, in the Prosecution of it, when he demanded supply of the Princes of *Succoth* and of the Men of *Penuel*, and they denyed it, he served them as Enemies, and taught these of *Succoth* with Briers and Thorns, and beat down the Tower of *Penuel*, Chap. 7. Whence I argue, If a small Party may with GOD's Approbation deliver themselves, and the whole of their Community, from the Bondage of their Oppressing Dominators whom they

had served several Years, and may Punish their Princes that do not come out to their help, in a Concurrence with them and encouragement of them, in that Attempt ; then may a People defend themselves against their Oppressors that Rule over them (and all ought to concur in it, or else there would not be Justice in punishing them that are defective in this Work ; But we see from this Example, that Gideon with a small Party delivered themselves, and the whole of their Community, from the Bondage of Midian, that ruled over them for seven Years, and punished the Princes of Succoth and the Men of Peniel, for not encouraging them in the prosecution of that Attempt, Ergo, &c. Object. If it be said, Gideon and the rest of these extraordinary raised Judges, were Magistrates, and therefore they might defend and deliver their their Country, which a private People, that are only Subjects, may not do. I answer, 1. They were subject to these Tyrants that Oppressed them, who were the Sovereign Powers of that Time, and yet they shook off their Yoke by Defensive Arms, 2. They were not then Magistrates, when they first appeared for their Country's Defence and Deliverance; neither in that did they act as such, but only as Captains of Rebels, in the esteem of them that had Power over them. It is clear, Gideon was not Ruler, till that Authority was conferred upon him, after the Deliverance. See Judg. 8. 22. &c. Yet he did all this before.

5. After the Death of that brave Captain and Judge Gideon, when Abimelech, the Son of his Whore, did first aspire into a Monarchy, which by the same Arguments, which Royalists make so much of for Establishing their Idol of Monarchy, he perswaded the silly Shechemites to consent to, and by Bloody Cruelty did usurp a Monarchy or rather Tyrannical Throne of Domination, founded upon the Blood of his 70 Brethren, whom he Murdered all upon one Stone, except Jotham, who scorned to put his Trust in the shadow of such a Bramble ; and they that did submit, found his Parable verified, a mutual Fire Reciprocally consuming both the Usurping King, and his Traitorous Subjects ; at length GOD sending an Evil Spirit between Abimelech and the Men of Shechem, not only was he resisted by the Treacherous Shechemites, which was their Brand and Bane, in the Righteous Judgement of GOD, for their aiding him at first, in Killing of his Brethren ; Jud. 9. 23, 24. &c. But also he was opposed by others of the Men of Israel, as at Thebez, where he was slain by a piece of a Millstone, thrown by a Woman ; Vers. 50. ad fin, whence I argue, If an Usurping Tyrant, and Acknowledged King by the Generality, may be disowned by the Godly, and threatened with GOD's Vengeance to consume both him and his Accomplices, that comply with him, which will certainly fall out in the LORD's Righteous Judgement; and if he may be opposed and resisted, not only by these that set him up, but also by others that were in Subjection to him, and at length be Killed by them, without any resentment of the rest of the Nation; then
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may a People who had no Hand in the Erection of such a Dominator, defend themselves against his Force; But here is an Example of it, that Abimelech an Usurping Tyrant, but acknowledged King by the Generality, was disowned by a Godly Jotham, and threatened with Vengeance to consume both him and the Shechemites his Complices (which accordingly fell out in the LORD's Righteous Judgement) when not only he was opposed by the Shechemites, that set him up, but also by the People at Thebez, who were before in Subjection to him, and Killed by them; and the rest of Israel did never resent it, but departed contented every Man unto his Place. Ergo, &c.

15. When Israel again falling under the Tyranny of the Children of Ammon, oppressing them 18 Years, did by Defensive Arms and Resistance against these Supreme Powers, shake off their Yoke under the Conduct of Jephthah the Gileadite, they were challenged sharply by the Men of Ephraim, who, it seems, claimed the Supremacy and Prerogative of making War, and therefore came to Revenge, and Reduce Jephthah and his Community to order, and to Punish them for their Supposed breach of it, casting thereby a Copy to our regular Royalists and Loyalists who are very Tenacious of this Plea of the Ephraimites; that at least without the *Primores Regni* no War is to be made; yet we find Jephthah did not much regard it, but stoutly Defended himself, and slew of them 42060 Men, known by their Sibboleth (Judg: 12.) Whence I argue, If People, when questioned for defending themselves, by them that claim a Superiority over them, and should deliver them, may defend themselves, both without them, and against them, then it is a People's Duty and Privilege: But by this Example, we see Jephthah and his Party, when questioned, for defending themselves, by Ephraim, that claimed a Superiority over them, and should have delivered them, but did it not, defending themselves, both without them, against the Ammonites, and against the Ephraimites themselves. Ergo, &c.

7. When they did Evil again in the sight of the LORD, and the LORD delivered them into the Hands of the Philistines 40 Years; whom the Men of Judah acknowledged for their Rulers, yet Sampson, that Rattle-handed Saint, never ceased from pelting them upon all occasions; and after many Mischiefs he had done them, when Three Hundred Men of Judah went up to the Rock Etam, to Expostulate with him for what he had done, so disorderly (as they thought) and said to Sampson, knowest thou not, that the Philistines are Rulers over us? What is this that thou hast done. Sampson Objects nothing against their being Rulers, but notwithstanding, prosecutes his Purpose of Vindicating himself, in the Defence of his Country. As they did unto me, says he, so have I done unto them. Judg: 15. 11. Hence I argue, If Saints may avenge themselves upon them, whom the Country call Rulers, and enabled by GOD, may do to them, as they did to them; then may a People defend themselves against them; but here is an Example of a

Saint, who avenged himself upon the Philistines, whom the Country of the Jews called Rulers, and being inabled by GOD, did to them, as they did to him. Ergo, &c.

8. After the Period of that *Theocracy*, which the LORD had maintained and Managed for some time, in great Mercy and Majesty in, and over His People, where in their Distress, and under their Oppressions, the LORD raised up Saviours, who delivered them Effectually; and while they Trusted in GOD, and cryed to him in the use of this Priviledge of Defensive Arms against their oppressing Rulers, they never wanted either Means or Success; but itching after Novelties, and affecting to be Neighbour-like, when they rejected the LORD in desiring a King, and the LORD permitted it, and gave them a King in His Wrath (the true Original and only Sanction of Monarchy) yet tho' we find the Characters of his Degeneration into Tyranny prefiged by *Samuel*, verified in *Saul's* aspiring into a great deal of Absoluteness; nevertheless the People did not wholly Mancipate this Priviledge of Resistance, but we find instances of their maintaining and practising it, not only in *David's* Defensive Appearance with his little Army; but before that, when in the Pursuit of the *Philistines*, he had charged the People with a Foolish Oath, like unto many of the insinaring Oaths, that Monarchs use to impose upon People, *not to Eat any Food until Evening, Jonathan his Son Tasted but a little Honey, and lo, he must die*, which *Saul* confirmed with another Peremptory Oath! *GOD do so to him, and more also, if he should not die*, whereupon the People as resolute on the other Hand to save him, who had wrought so great a Salvation in *Israel*, resisted the rage of that Ruler, and Swore as Peremptorily, that not one Hair of his Head should fall to the Ground, *So the People Rescued Jonathan that he died not* (1 Sam. 14. 15, 16.) Hence I argue, *If the People may resist the Commands, and rescue a Man from a Tyrant's Cruelty, then may they defend themselves against him; but here is an Example, that the People of Israel resisted the Command, and rescued Jonathan from the Cruelty of Saul, not only by Persuasion, but by Peremptory Resolution, not to suffer it; for as they withstood him in Words, when he gave but Words, so they would have withstood him in Deeds, if he had attempted Force; seeing they Swear they would not let it be done. Ergo, &c.*

9. After the Secession of the 10 Tribes from Subjection to the House of *David*, when *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab* reigned over *Israel*, and had many signal Demonstrations of the Power of GOD, exerted in the Ministry of his Servant *Elisha*, which sometimes did extort his Acknowledgment, and made him call the Prophet his Father, 2 Kings 6. 21. Yet when in the Strait Siege of *Samaria*, he was plagued with Famine for *Idolatry*, in so much, that the pitiful Mothers were made to eat their own

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tender Children, that Tyrant was so insens'd into a Madness of outrageous Malice against the Prophet *Elisha*, that he swore, *GOD do so to him, and more also, if the Head of Elisha the Son of Shaphat should stand on him this Day*; And accordingly sent a Messenger to execute it. But the Prophet stood upon his Defence, and encouraged those that were with him, to keep out the House against him, saying to the Elders, *See ye how this Son of a Murderer (a proper Title for such a Monster of a King,) hath sent to take away mine Head!* Look when the Messenger smote, shut the Door, and held him fast at the Door, it was the Sound of his Master's Feet behind him. Where we see, he resolved to resist both the Man, and the Malice, though the King of the Land for the Time. Whence I argue, if a King, or his Messenger, coming to use unjust Violence against an innocent Subject, be no more to be regarded than a Murderer's Errand, but may be resisted by that innocent Subject; then may a Community of such innocent Subjects defend themselves against a King, or his Errand, coming against them, in such a wicked Errand: But here we see King *Jehoram* and his Messenger, both coming to kill innocent *Elisha*, were no more regarded, than a Murderer's Errand; but were resisted by keeping them out, with shut Doors: Ergo, &c.

10. In the Kingdom of *Judah*, after long Experience of a Succession of Hereditary Tyranny in many wicked Kings, the People at length, after they had long smarted for their early Loyalty, in their stupid abandoning, and forgetting, and forgoing this Privilege of resisting their Superiors, began to bestir themselves, in their Endeavours to recover their lost Liberties, and repress Tyrants Insolencies, on several Occasions; wherein, tho' some times these were Extravagancies, when Circumstances did mar the Justice of the Action, and some did go beyond their Sphere into a tumultuary Precipitation; yet upon the Matter it was Justice, and in Conformity to a Moral Command, when not only they resisted their wicked Kings; but brought them to condign Punishment, for their Idolatry and Tyranny. *Joash* the Son of *Ahaziah*, after he degenerated into murdering Oppression, was slain by *Jozashar* and *Jehozabad*, 2 Kin. 12. 20. But that was by his own Servants, in private Assassination; wherefore they are called Murderers, who were therefore punished by *Ahaziah* his Son, 2 Kin. 14. 5, 6. But upon the Matter, it was the Justice of GOD, which he deserved, if it had been duly executed for the Blood of the Son of *Jehozabad* the Priest, 2 Chron. 24. 25. So *Amnon* the Son of *Manasse*, for his walking in the Way of his Father, in Idolatry and Tyranny, and forsaking the LORD GOD of his Fathers, was slain in his own House, by his Servants, who conspired against him; but tho' this was Justice also upon the Matter, and consonant to the Command, for punishing Idolaters and Murderers; yet because defective in the

Manner, and done by them that took too much upon them, in a perfidious Way of private Assassination and Conspiracy; therefore the People of the Land punished them for it, 2 Kin. 21. 23, 24. But the repressing and punishing of *Amaziah* is a more unexceptionable Instance. *The People made a Conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and beset to Lachish, but they sent after him to Lachish, and slew him there,* 2 Kin. 14. 19. *After the Time that he turned away from following the LORD,* 2 Chron. 25. 27. which was according to the Command, *Deut. 13. 12.* which hath no Exception of Kings in it. This Action was not questioned, either by the People or his Successor, as the fore-mentioned Conspiracies were. His Son *Uzziah* succeeding, who did Right, and consulted the LORD, 2 Chron. 26. 3, 5. did not resent nor revenge his Father's Death, which certainly he would have done by Advice of *Zachariah*, who had Understanding in the Visions of GOD, if it had been a Transgression. The famous and faithful *Mr. Knox* doth clear this Passage beyond Contradiction, in his Conference with *Leithington*, as also *Jus Populi*. Hence I take an Argument *a fortiori*, *If People may conspire and concur in executing Judgment upon their King, turning Idolater and Tyrant; then much more may they defend themselves against his Violence: But by this Example we see, that the People did conspire, and concur in executing Judgment upon their King Amaziah, turning Idolater, &c. Ergo.*

11. The same Power and Privilege of People's resisting their Prince, was exemplified in the Successor of him last mentioned, viz. in *Uzziah*, the Son of *Amaziah*, called *Azariah*, 2 Kin. 15. when he degenerated into the Ambition of arrogating a Supremacy in all Causes Ecclesiastick; Sacred as well as Civil. *His Heart was lifted up to his Destruction, for he transgressed against the LORD, and went into the Temple of the LORD, to burn Incense;* in which Usurpation he was resisted by *Azariah* the Priest, and with Fourscore Priests of the LORD, that were valiant Men, who withstood him, who told him, It did not appertain to him to take upon him so much, and bade him go out of the Sanctuary, or else it should not be for his Honour; which indeed he stomached at, as an Affront to be so controlled and resisted; but in thinking to resent it, he was plagued of the LORD with Leprosie, which the Priests looking upon, they thrust him out from thence, and sequestrated him from all Supremacy, both that which he had before in Things Civil, and that which he was affecting in Matters Sacred. For he was made to dwell in a several House being a Leper, and to resign the Government to his Son *Jotham's* Hands. 2 Chron. 26. 16, 21. Whence I argue, *If a Prince for his Usurpation beyond his Line in Things Sacred, may by the Priests be excommunicated, and thereafter deposed; then may a Prince, usurping both Sacred and Civil Things, and oppressing his Subjects in all their Liberties, be resisted?*

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But here is an Example of the former, that Uzziah for his Usurpation upon the Priest's Office, was first excommunicated, and then deposed, Ergo, &c.

We have also an Instance of this in the Reign of Jehoram, the Son of Jehoshaphat, who turned Apostate and Tyrant, and slew all his Brethren with the Sword, and drove also of the Princes of Israel; moreover he made High Places in the Mountains of Judah, and caused the Inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit Fornication, and compelled Judah thereto; for which Cause of his intolerable Insolency in Wickedness, Libnah one of the Cities of Judah revolted from under his Hand, because he had forsaken the LORD GOD of his Fathers, 2 Chron. 21. 10. Which was the Motive of their Resolution; and is not to be detorted to that restricted Cavil of Royalists, understanding it, only as the procuring Cause of his Punishment: For in that Sense, it might as well be said of the Edomites, who revolted at the same Time, and of the Philistines, and Arabians and Ethiopians, whose Spirit the LORD stirred up against him. These were also a Punishment unto him, but it is not said, neither would it found so suitably, That they made their Opposition, because he had forsaken the LORD GOD of his Fathers: But this was the very formal Reason of Libnah's Revolt. Whence I argue, *If a People may revolt from a Prince, and disown their Allegiance, because of his Apostacy and Tyranny, then much more may they resist his Force. But there is an Example of Libnah's Revolt from, and disowning their Allegiance to Jehoram, because of his Apostacy and Tyranny, &c. Ergo, &c.*

13. After the Return from the Babylonish Captivity, when the Jews fell about the Work of building the Temple, which they would do by themselves, and not admit of any Association with Malignants, upon their sinister Misinformation and Sycophantick Accusation, *That they were building the rebellious and bad City, and would refuse to pay the King Toll, Tribute and Custom, they were straitly discharged by Artaxerxes the King of Persia, to proceed in their Work, under the Prohibition was execute by Force and Power, Ezr. 4.* But by the Encouragement of the Prophets Haggai and Zechariah, countermanding the King's Decree, they would not be hindered from the Work of the LORD, the Eye of their GOD being upon them; tho' Tatnai the Governor of those Parts, Shetharboznai, and their Companions would have boasted them from it, with the usual Arguments of Malignants, *Who hath commanded you to do so and so? Ezr. 5. 3, 5.* And yet this was before the Decree of Darius was obtained in their Favours, Ezr. 6. Whence I argue, *If a People may prosecute a Duty, without and against a King's Command, and before an Allowance by Law can be obtained; then may a People resist their Commands, and Force used to execute them: But here is an Example that the Jews did prosecute the Work of the LORD, without and against Artaxerxes his Command, and before Darius his Allowance could be obtained. Ergo, &c.*

14. When *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, and invited the *Jews* to build up the Walls of the City, they strengthened their Hands for that good Work, against very much Opposition; and when challenged by *Sambal-lat* the *Horonite*, and *Tibiah* the Servant the *Ammonite*, and *Geshem* the *Arabian*, great King's-Men all of them, who fell to despise and boast 'em, *What is this that ye do? Will'ye rebel against the King?* say they. He would not plead Authority, tho' in the general he had the King's Warrant for it; yet he would not give them any other Satisfaction, than to intimate to them, That whether they had that or not, having the Call of GOD to the Work, they would go on in the Duty, and GOD would prosper them against that Opposition, *Neh. 2. 19, 20.* And accordingly, notwithstanding of all their Scoffs, Plots and Conspiracies to fight against *Jerusalem*, and to hinder the Building; yet they went on, and were encouraged to remember the LORD, and fight for their Brethren; their Sons and their Daughters, their Wives and their Houses, and to build with Weapons in their Hands, *Neh. Chap. 4.* and brought it to an End, notwithstanding of all their Practices, to frustrate them from it, *Chap. 6.* Hence I argue, *If neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor Practices of Malignant Enemies, who pretend Authority, nor any Discouragements whatsoever should deter People from a Duty, which they have a Call, and Capacity from GOD to prosecute, and if they may promote it against all Opposition, by Defensive Arms; then when a People are oppressed, and treated as Rebels, for a Necessary Duty, they may defend themselves and maintain their Duty, notwithstanding of all Pretences of Authority against them: But here neither Challenges of Rebellion, nor the Practices of Tobiah and Sanballat, &c. nor any Discouragements whatsoever, did deter the Jews from building the Wall, to which they had a Call and Capacity from GOD; but they were resolved to defend themselves against all Opposition: Ergo, &c.*

I shall add but one Instance more from the History of *Esther*; Because *Mordecai* refused to do Homage to a Hang-man (*Haman*, I should say) a cruel Edict was procured from *Ahasuerus*, to destroy, to kill and to cause to perish all the *Jews*, both young and old, which was written, and sealed with the King's Ring, according to the Laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, becoming a Law irrevocable and irreversible; *Esth. 5. 12, 13.* Yet the LORD's Providence, always propitious to his People, brought it about so, that *Haman* being hanged, and *Mordecai* advanced to Honour, the *Jews*, were called and capacitated; as well as necessitated, to resist their armed Authority, that decreed to massacre them, and that by the King's own Allowance, *Esth. Chap. 9.* When his former Decree drew near to be put in Execution, *In the Day that the Enemies of the Jews hoped to have Power over them, it was turned to the con-*
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rary, that the Jews had Rule over them, that hated them, and no Man could withstand them, for the Fear of them fell upon all People. Here they had the Allowance of Authority, to resist Authority: And this was not a Gift of new Right by that Remit, which they had not before, only it was corroborative of their Radical Right to defend themselves, which is not the Donative of Princes, and which they had Power to exercise, and use without this, tho' may be not that same Capacity. From which I argue, *If a People may have the Allowance of well advised Authority, to resist the Decree, and Force of unlawful Authority, then may a People maintain Right Authority, in defending themselves, against the Injuries of pretended Authority: But by this Instance, we see, the Jews had Ahasuerus his Allowance to resist the Decree, and Force of his own ill advised Authority, tho' irreversible. Ergo, A People may maintain Right Authority, in resisting and defending themselves against the Injuries of pretended Authority.* And hence we see, That Distinction, so much cried out against, is not groundless, between resisting the Authority of Supreme Powers, and the Abuses of the same.

2. We have in the Scriptures some both tacite and expresse Reproofs; for lying by from this Duty of Defensive Resistance, in the Season thereof. As 1. In Jacob's Swain's-Song, or Prophetical Testament, declared to his Children before his Death; wherein he foretels, what should be the State and future Condition of each of the Tribes, that were come of his Loins, and what should be remarked in their Carriage, influencing their After-Lot, in their Generations, for which they should be commended or discommended, approved or reprov'd; coming to Issachar, he prophetically exprobrates his future *Ass-like Stupidity*, that indulging himself in his lazie Ease, and luckwarm Security, he should mancipate himself, and his Interest into a servile Subjection unto his Oppressor's Imposition, even when he should be in a Capacity to shake them off, and free himself by Resistance. *Gen. 49. 14, 15. Issachar is a strong Ass, couching down between two Burdens; and he saw that Rest was good, and the Land that it was pleasant, and bowed his Shoulders to bear, and became a Servant to Tribute.* This is let down by the Holy Ghost as the Brand and Bane, not of the Person of Issachar Jacob's Son, but of the Tribe of Issachar; to be inured upon them, when they should be in such a Condition, by their own silliness. Hence I argue, *If the Holy Ghost exprobrate a People for their stupid Subjection to prevailing Tyranny, when they do not improve their Ability, Capacity and Right, to maintain and defend their Liberties and Priviledges; then this implies a Commanded Duty to defend them, according to their Capacity from all unjust Invasion: But in this part of Jacob's Testament, the Holy Ghost exprobrates Issachar's stupid Subjection to prevailing Tyranny, when they should not improve their Ability, Capacity and Right to maintain and defend their Liberties.*

Liberties and Privileges. Ergo, *This implies a commanded Duty, that they should have defended them, according to their Capacity, from all unjust Invasion.*

2. In the above mentioned Instance of *Barak's* Rebellion against *Jabin* and *Sisera* his Captian, having been subject to that Domination for 20 Years, during all which Time *Jabin* was acknowledged to have the Possession of the Supreme Power; we find in *Deborah's* Song, after the Victorious Resistance, the People are severely upbraided for not concurring in that Expedition, *Jud. 5. 16, 17, 23. Some abode among the Sheep-folds, to hear the bleatings of the Flocks, for the Divisions of Ruben there were great Searchings of Heart. Gilead abode beyond Jordan. Dan remained in Ships. Asher continued in the Sea Shore, and abode in his Breaches. Meroz is cursed by the Angel of the LORD, because they came not to the Help of the LORD, to the Help of the LORD against the Mighty.* This is recorded as a lasting Reproof against all that will withdraw their helping Hand from the LORD's People, when necessitate to appear in Defensive Arms, for the Preservation of their Lives and Liberties: On the other Hand *Zebulun* and *Nephtali* are commended for *jeoparding their Lives, unto the Death in the high Places of the Field*; and are approved in that Practice of fighting against the Kings of *Canaan*, that then ruled over them. *V. 18, 19.* Whence I argue, *If a People be reprov'd, and curs'd for staying at Home, to look to their own Interests, when others jeopard'd their Lives for their Country's Defence, and Freedom from Tyranny and Oppression; then this implies, it's a Duty to concur in so Venturing: But here Ruben, Dan, Asher and Meroz, &c. are reprov'd and curs'd for staying at Home, to look to their own Interest, when Zebulun and Nephtali jeopard'd their Lives, for their Country's Defence, and Freedom from Tyranny and Oppression.* Ergo, &c.

3. We have in the Scriptures many Promises of the LORD's approving and countenancing this Duty of Defensive Arms, even against their oppressing Rulers. As 1st. In that forecited Testament of the Patriarch *Jacob*, in that Part of it, which concerns *Gad*: He prophesies that that Tribe should have a Lot in the World answering his Name, and be engaged in many Conflicts, with oppressing Dominators, who at first should prevail over him; but at length GOD should so bless his Endeavours to free himself from their Oppressions, that he should overcome. There is an excellent Elegancy in the Original, answering to the Etymology of the Name *Gad*, which signifies a *Troop*; reading thus in the *Hebrew*, *Gad, a Troop shall overtroop him; but he shall overtroop them at the last*, *Gen. 49. 19.* And *Moses* homologating the same Testimony, in his blessing the Tribes of *Israel* before his Death, speaking of this Tribe of *Gad*, shows that he should make a very forcible and successful Resistance; and should execute the Justice of the LORD over his Oppressors, *Deut. 33. 20, 21.* Where-

in is implied a Promise of a Resistance to be made against oppressing Conquerors, who should acquire the supreme Rule over them for a Time, and the Success of that Resistance (for overcoming necessarily supposes Resistance.) Hence my Argument in Form runs thus, *Where there is a Promise of Success at last to a People's Conflicts against prevailing Tyrants, there is implied an Approbation of the Duty, and also a Promise of its Performance, wrapped up in that Promise; But in this part of Jacob's and Moses's Testaments, concerning Gad, there is a Promise of Success at last, to Gad's Conflicts against prevailing Tyranny. Ergo, Here is implied an Approbation of the Duty, &c.* The Connection of the Major, I prove thus, *Where a penal Misery is promised to be removed, by Means of a People's Resistance, therein is couched an Approbation of that Resistance: But here a penal Misery (that Troop's prevailing Conquest) is promised to be removed by Means of Gad's Resistance (for they could never overcome without Resistance) Ergo &c.*

2. Among many other Blessings promised to a People walking in the LORD's Statutes, and keeping his Commandments *Levit. 26.* It is promised, their War shall be successful. *V. 7, 8. Ye shall chase your Enemies and they shall fall before you by the Sword, five of you shall chase one hundred and one hundred shall put ten thousand to flight.* And in case of Disobedience it is threatened, they shall be subject to Tyrants. *V. 17. I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your Enemies. They that hate you shall Reign over you and ye shall flee when none pursueth.* Whence by the Law of Contraries, comparing the Promise and the threatening together, here must be a Promise of and to Defensive War against Oppressing Rulers; for the Enemy is the same, and the War is the same; only in the one case attended with Success, in the other not. But in the case threatened it is defensive against Oppressing Rulers. *Ergo*, also in the case promised. And grant the Promise be to Offensive War, it must be much more to Defensive. There is no Distinction here, if it be with Authority, or if it be against Authority; for if the case promised, where there are but five or a hundred, there is but little Authority; and its insinuated that even in that case they shall have Success. And as the Curse threatened does suppose, that their War shall be against prevailing Authority for the Time, *V. 17.* So also the Blessing promised, does not exclude that, but that it may be even against their hating and hateful Rulers, as many Examples prove.

3. In that Threatening against Tyrants, shewing how they shall be thrust away and burnt with Fire, there is touched a Promise (and also an implied Precept) of resisting them. *2 Sam. 23. 3, 7.* Where that Prince-ly Prophet David, being about to leave the World, under some Challenges of Mal-administration in his Government, (for which he betook himself to the well ordered Covenant for his encouragement.) he gives the

true Character of Righteous Rulers, and of Usurping Tyrants, making an Opposition between the one and the other, promising Blessings upon the Government of the one, and Contempt and Rejection of the other, and shewing how both should be carried towards. Of rightful and Righteous Rulers, he says, *V. 3. The Rock of Israel spake to me, he that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the Fear of GOD, and he shall be as the Light of the Morning, when the Sun riseth, as a Morning without Clouds, as the tender Grass springing out of the Earth by clear shining after Rain; But of Usurping Tyrants he says, V. 6. But the Sons of Belial shall be all of them as Thorns thrust away, because they cannot be taken with Hands, but the Man that shall touch them must be fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear, and they shall be utterly burnt with Fire in the same place.* Which clearly implies Resistance against them, and more than that, Rejection and Repression of their Oppressing Violence. I know some Commentators understand this of Rebels against Righteous Rulers, which though indeed it be a Truth, that they which are such shall be so served; that is, thrust away as Thorns, and roughly handled with Iron and the Staff of a Spear; yet is not so consonant to the Scope and Connection of this place, nor to the clear Opposition that is here made betwixt Rulers, *that are just, ruling in the Fear of GOD, and those that are Rulers of Belial.* Neither does it agree with the Words themselves, where the Supplement in our Translation is redundant, for it is not in the *Hebrew*, *the Sons of Belial*, only *they of Belial*, clearly relative to the Rulers of whom he was speaking before. Neither is it always agreeable to Truth, to understand it only of Rebels against Righteous Rulers, *that they can never be touched with Hands, but fenced with Iron, &c.* For as very rarely Righteous Rulers have any Rebels to be the Objects of such Rigour and Rage; so when there are any Discreet and Wise Rulers, will find many other ways to take and touch them, and quash or quiet them with Hands, by the Power of Justice or Authority of Laws, without such roughness; But it is always true of Tyrants; for they can never be repressed or restrained or dealt with any other way, but by a forcible and well fenced Resistance. Hence I argue, *If it be threatened as a Curse against Rulers of Belial, and promised as a Blessing that they shall be so roughly handled; then this implies a Duty to Resist them, who cannot be otherwise taken. But here it is threatened as a Curse against Rulers of Belial, and promised as a Blessing that they shall be so roughly handled, when they cannot be otherwise taken. Ergo, &c.*

4. When the LORD shall have Mercy on Jacob, and choose Israel, it is promised, *Isa. 14. 3, 3. That they shall take them Captives, whose Captives they were, and they shall Rule over their Oppressors, and the LORD will give them rest from their Sorrow, and from their Fear, and from the hard Bonds*

dage, wherein they were made to Serve. This necessarily implies and infers a Promise of Resistance against these Oppressing Rulers, in the time of their Domineering, as well as Revenge, after their Yoke should be broken; and something of Mens Action, as well as GOD's Judgement in breaking that Yoke, for they could not take them Captives, nor Rule over them, except they first resisted them whose Captives they were. There is resisting of the Supreme Power's Subjection, whereto was the Bondage wherein they were made to Serve. Hence I argue, *If it be promised that a Captivated and Subjugated People shall break the Yoke, and free themselves of the Bondage of them that had them in Subjection; then it is promised, that in that case, they must resist the Supreme Powers.* (For such were they whose Captives they were.) But here it is promised, that a Captivated and Subjugated People shall break the Yoke, and free themselves of the Bondage of them that had them in Subjection. Ergo, &c. 5. In that Promise of the Church's Deliverance and Enlargement, wherein they are Prophetically urged and stirred up to some Activity in Co-operating with the Providence. *Isa. 52. 1, 2.* They are called to *awake, and put on Strength, and their Beautiful Garments, and to shake themselves from the Dust, and to arise and loose themselves from the Bands of their Neck that were Captives; there is also contained a promise of their being Active in delivering themselves, as Men, from the Encroachments that were made on their Humane Liberties, that they should loose themselves from these Bands.* Whose Bands? From their Bands that ruled over them, and made them to howl, and the LORD's Name to be Blasphemed, *Vers. 5.* Here is a Promise of breaking the Bands of Rulers, by them who howled under their Subjection; and it also includes a Precept; that that People should not stay any longer under the Yoke of Tyrants, than they could shake it off. Hence I argue, *A Promise by way of Command, that a People under Bands of Oppressing Rulers, shall rouse themselves up, to loose themselves from them, implies and infers a Promise and a Duty of resisting these Rulers; for how otherwise could they loose themselves.* But here is a Promise by way of Command, that a People under Bands of Oppressing Rulers, shall rouse themselves up, to loose themselves from them. Ergo, &c. 6. There are Promises of the LORD's making use of His People, and Strengthening them to break in pieces, the Power of his and their Enemies; which certainly supposes a Promised Success unto, and Approbation of their Insurrections against them, and His Defending and Maintaining them against all their Power and Projects, when they think most to prevail over them, as is promised to them in the threatened Catastrophe of the *Babylonian* Usurpation. *Jer. 51. 20, 24.* Where he shews, how sometimes He will Honour His People as Instruments of the Debellation of them that ruled over them. *Thou art* (says he to *Israel*) *My Battle Ar, and Weapons of War, for with thee*

will I Break in pieces the Nations, and with thee will I destroy Kingdoms ; with thee will I break in pieces the Horse and his Rider, the Chariot and his Rider, Man and Woman, Old and Young, the Young Man and the Maid, the Shepherd and his Flock, the Husband Man and his Yoke of Oxen ; and in thee will I break in pieces Captains and Rulers, and I will render unto Babylon and to all the Inhabitants of Caldea, all their Evil that they have done in Zion. Hence I argue, If the LORD will make use of His People's Vindictive Arms against Babylon, Ruling over them, then He will justifie their Defensive Arms against Babylon Oppressing them. But here is a Promise, that He will make use of His Peoples Vindictive Arms against Babylon Ruling over them. Ergo, &c. Whensoever this hath been or shall be Accomplished, it clearly implies their breaking in pieces the Powers that were Supreme over them.

7. There are Promises that the LORD's People, when their Rulers are incensed against the Holy Covenant, and Arms shall stand on their part, to Pollute their Sanctuary of Strength, and when many of their Brethren that should concur with them shall be freighted from their Duty by Fear, or Corrupt with Flatteries, shall be made strong and do Exploits: Tho' in such Enterprizes that may want Success for some time, and fall by the Sword and Flame, and by Captivity and by Spoil many Days. *Dan. 11. 30. 34.* which is very near paralel to the case of the Covenanted People of Scotland, in their Appearing in Defensive Exploits against their Covenant-breaking-Rulers, these many Years bygone. This was very Eminently fulfilled in the History of the *Maccabees*, before Rehearsed. Hence I argue, *If it be Promised that a People shall be strong and do Exploits in Resisting the Arms of their Rulers, Oppressing their Covenant, and overturning their Religion and Liberties, then it must be approuen that such a Resistance is lawful, even tho' it want Success; but here it is promised, that a People shall be strong to do Exploits, in Resisting the Arms of their Rulers Oppressing their Covenant, and overturning their Religion and Liberties. Ergo, &c.*

8. There are Promises given for the Encouragement of the LORD's spoiled and oppressed People, even when in their lowest most Despicable and Desperate case, *to Trust in the LORD's Sufficiency to enable them to rescue themselves from their Oppressors, founded upon His Glorious Titles, who is the Object of their Adoration, whom they should seek. Amos 5. 9. He Strengtheneth the Spoiled against the Strong, so that the spoiled shall come against the Fortrefs ; which Promise is given them, to Encourage them not to comply with the unlawful Commands of their Rulers, imposing a false Worship upon them, to go to Gilgal, Beersheba and Bethel. Vers. 5.* But that they should wait upon GOD, who should Strengthen them to recover their own, *tho' they should be Spoiled for such Non-conformity. Hence I argue, Where there is a Promise so General, as includes Resistance against all Spoilers*

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whatsoever, and of Attacking them in their strongest Fortresses; there are not excluded Spoiling Rulers, tho' never so Supreme in Power, but that they may be Resisted too: But here is a Promise so General, as includes Resistance against all Spoilers whatsoever, and of Attacking them in their strongest Fortresses. Ergo, &c. 9. There are Promises of the LORD's People being employed and Spirited, not only to Revenge themselves on their always-implacable-declared-Enemies, but also that they shall in Righteousness Vindicate themselves upon, and against their false pretended Brethren, that should have helped them in their resisting of the Oppressing Dominators, that were so far from giving them that Assistance, that they rejoiced over them, and Spoke proudly in the Day of their Destruction, and laid Hands on their Substance, and stood in the Cross Way, to cut off them, that Escaped; it is Threatened against them, that as they had done, it should be done unto them, and their Reward should return upon their own Head: But unto the LORD's People, so Oppressed and Spoiled of Enemies, and abused by their Allies, it is promised, That the House of Jacob shall be a Fire, and the House of Joseph a Flame, and the House of Esau for Stubble, and they shall kindle in them, and devour them, and that they shall possess what formerly by them they were dispossessed of; and Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the Mount of Esau, and the Kingdom shall be the LORD's, Obad. V 18. to the End. In which Promise clearly is implied, That after they shall have broken the Yoke of their oppressing Rulers, they shall fall upon their treacherous Allies, and rescue their own from them; which supposes a Resistance against both. Hence I argue, If in a Day of Deliverance, the People of GOD are not to spare their treacherous Allies, but rescue from them what they have robbed, then they will not, and must not spare, but resist their truculent Enemies, though they be their Rulers: But here it is promised, that in a day of Deliverance, the People of GOD are not to spare their treacherous Allies, but rescue from them what they have robbed. Ergo, &c. 10. There are Promises of the LORD's People prevailing by Defensive Arms, over many People and Nations, that shall think to domineer over them, Micah 4. 11. ad finem, That many Nations shall be gathered to defile and look upon Zion, but that they shall not know the Thoughts of the LORD, nor understand his Counsel, for he shall gather them as Sheaves into the Floor, and then the LORD shall give Allowance and Commission to his People, to arise and thresh, for he will make their Horn Iron, and their Hooves Brass, and they shall beat in Pieces many People, and their Gains shall be consecrated unto the LORD, and their Substance unto the LORD of the whole Earth. What Time the Accomplishment of this is referred to, is not my Concern to enquire; it doth doubtless look to the New Testament Time, and to the latter Days of that Dispensation, when both the Jewish and Gentile Zion, shall be totally and finally delivered from Babylon;

or Antichristian Tyranny: Before, or about which Period, the Enemies of CHRIST & of his People, shall attempt their *ULTIMUS CONATUS* to destroy the Church; but when they are all well mustered in a general Rendezvous, the LORD's People shall have gallant Game at the Chase: But whensoever the Time be of fulfilling the Promise, it ensures to the People of GOD the Success of their defensive Arms, against them that intended and pretended a Domination over them. For doubtless, among these many Nations, that should gather against Zion, were these chiefly under whose Subjection they had been long groaning; and it looks to a Time when they should have no Rulers of their own, but should be brought to a very low Pass; yet here is not only implied a Resistance, but expressly promised, That they should thresh them. In like Manner, in the following Chapter, with respect to the same Time and Period of the New Testament Dispensation, after the Birth of CHRIST in the Gospel Conquest over Nations, when CHRIST shall be great unto the Ends of the Earth (which shall be most signally in the Latter Days) it is promised to the People of GOD, *That when the Assyrian (that is the Antichristian Usurpers, serving themselves Heirs to, and prosecuting the old Quarrel of the Assyrian Tyranny over the Church) shall tread in their Palaces; then they shall raise against him seven Shepherds, and Eight principal Men, and they shall waste the Land of Assyria with the Sword, and the Land of Nimrod, in the Entrances thereof: Thus shall they be delivered from the Assyrian, when he cometh into their Land, and when he treadeth within their Borders; and the Remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many People, as a Lion among the Beasts of the Forrest, as a young Lion among the Flocks of Sheep, who if he go through, both treadeth down and teareth in Pieces, and none can deliver; their Hand shall be lift up upon their Adversaries, and all their Enemies shall be cut off.* That this Prophecie is to be referred to the Gospel Times, and the latter Times of that Dispensation, cannot be denied, and that herein is implied, not only a Resistance against prevailing and usurping Dominators; but a successful Conquest over them, cannot be disputed: And to restrict the Sense of it to the Spiritual Conquest over the Nations, by the Ministry of the Word (tho' I will not deny, but that is included) seems too great a Straitening of the Scope, and not so apposite to the Expressions of *wasting with the Sword, and as a Lion treading down, and tearing in Pieces, lifting up the Hand upon the Adversaries, and cutting off the Enemies*; which certainly imports some forcible Action of Men, and more than the peaceable Propagation of the Gospel, without Stroke of Sword. And it is certain also, that the Persons to be resisted here, are these *that arrogated a Power over them, and at a Time when they should prevail*

prevail. Hence I argue, If in the Latter Days the People of GOD are to be Honoured; and acted forth with such a Spirit and Capacity, to thresh and beat down these Powers, under which they have been long groaning, and to raise their Principal Men against them, and waste their Land with the Sword, and tread down and rear them in pieces, &c. Then when the Lord puts them in a Capacity to attempt it, they should be Ambitious of such an Honour; but it is promised that the LORD's People shall be Honoured and acted forth with such a Spirit and Capacity, &c. Ergo, 11. There are Promises, That after the LORD's Indignation against his People is accomplished, and after they have long lain under the Feet of Tyrants, the LORD will raise up Instruments to break their Power. Zech. 1. 19, 20. The Prophet sees in the Vision four Carpenters resisting the four Horns. The Horns scattered Judah, so that no Man did lift up his Head, but the Carpenters, came to fray them, to cast out the Horns of the Gentiles, which lifted up their Horn over the Land of Judah to scatter it. These Horns had the Supreme Power over Judah for a Time, while they were in no capacity to resist them, but as soon as the LORD furnishes them with capacity and Instruments impowered to resist them, they do it effectually. The Carpenters are certainly the LORD's People themselves, for here they are Stated in Opposition to the Gentiles, which all were, except the LORD's People. Hence I argue, If the LORD promises, when reconciled to His People, to furnish them with Instruments of fray, and to scatter the Power of Tyrants, who have long born down their Head; then when they are so furnished they may resist them. But the LORD here promises, when reconciled to his People, to furnish them with Instruments to fray, and to scatter the Power of Tyrants, who have long born down their Head. Ergo, &c. 12. There are, Promises That after the LORD's People have been long kept as Prisoners under the Bondage of their Oppressing Rulers, they shall by a vigorous Resistance, subdue them and be saved from their Tyranny, Zech. 9. 13, 17. When the LORD shall bend Judah for him and fill the Bow with Ephraim, and raise up Zion's Sons, against the Sons of Greece, and make them as the Sword of a mighty Man, then the Lord shall be seen over them, and his Arrows shall go forth as the Lightning, and he shall blow the Trumpet, he shall defend them, and they shall devour and subdue with Sling-Stones, and the Lord their God shall save them in that Day as the Flock of his People, for they shall be as the Stones of a Crown lifted up, as an Ensign upon his Head. So it was in their Resistances and Victories against the Successors of Alexander, who had the Rule over them for a Time; and so it may be again when the LORD shall so bend his People for him, &c. Hence I argue, If the LORD promises to fit and Spirit his People for Action against their Oppressing Rulers, and to Crown their Achievements, when so fitted and spirited, with glorious Success then it is their Duty, and also their Honour to resist them:

But

But here the Lord promises to fit and spirit His People for Action against their Oppressing Rulers, and to Crown their Achievements, when so fitted and spirited, with glorious Success. Ergo, &c. 13. There are Promises, chiefly to be accomplished in the later Days, when the LORD shall recall and restore his Ancient People, that he shall make them as his goodly Horse in the Battle, Zech. 10. 5. &c. When they shall be as mighty Men, which tread down their Enemies in the Mire of the Streets in the Battle, and they shall fight because the LORD is with them, and the Riders on Horses shall be confounded, and the Pride of Assyria shall be brought down, and the Scepter of Egypt shall depart away. Hence I argue, If the LORD, when he shall have Mercy on his People, will bless their Resistance, so as to bring down the Pride and Scepter of them that had the Supreme Power over them, then in hope of such a Blessing, they may attempt such a Duty; but here it is promised, that when the LORD shall have Mercy on His People, He will bless their Resistance so as to bring down the Pride and Scepter of them that had the Supreme Power over them. Ergo, 14. Among the rest of the Promises, which CHRIST gives for the Encouragement of his People, in his Premonitions of what they may expect as their Lot and Condition of Life in this World, and what should be their Carriage and Comfort in their several Exigencies, there is one thing promised, as the consequent of their Professing the Gospel, Matth. 10. 34, 35. Think not says he, that I am come to send peace on Earth; I came not to send peace, but a Sword, for I am come to set a Man at variance, against his Father, &c. Where not only there is a Warning of what is to be expected as the ordinary consequent of the Gospel's Profession, by reason of the Corruption of Men, and not only is there a Threatening of the Sword of Persecution and Division against and amongst the People of GOD; but also there is a Promise of the Defensive use of the Sword, to be granted to them for the Defence of the Gospel, especially when it should become the Land-Right. For first, the Scope and Strain of the Place in all these Warnings, is not only to threaten Persecution, but to encourage against it, and to direct them to the use of Lawful Means, and Rules of Behaviour in, and under it, and as in the foregoing Warnings, he allows them the Study of Wisdom, as well as Innocency, V. 16. and gives them Caution to beware of Men. V. 17. and grants them the Privilege of flight. V. 23. So here in this Warning of War to be expected, and not Peace, it must be supposed, he allows them the common Privilege of Mankind. 2. From the Rule of Contraries, it must be granted, that the Sword here to be feared, is of the same Nature with the Peace they expected, but that Peace is reciprocal, and when they have it, they are active in pursuing it; therefore the Sword must be reciprocal and, they are to be active in improving it, and not merely passive

passive in enduring it. 3. The Variance threatened in the next Verse, is to be followed and Prosecuted in the same way that the Sword is in this Verse; but the Variance in the next V. is to be mutual, and active on the Christian's part as well as their Enemies (for they are to maintain that Division and Contention-Truth actively.) Therefore also the Sword in the former Verse is to be mutually and actively prosecuted.

4. We have also Precepts, from whence we may very consequentially conclude the Approven Duty of Defensive Arms against Oppressing Rulers. As 1. There is a Command given to the *Israelites*, after their being ensnared in the Matter of *Peor*, to vex the *Midianites* and smite them; for, saith the LORD, they vex you with their Wives, wherewith they have beguiled you in the Matter of *Peor*, and in the Matter of *Cozbi* the Daughter of a Prince of Midian their Sister, which was slain in the Day of the Plague for *Peor's* sake. Numb. 25. 17, 18. And they are Commanded, Numb. 31. 2. to avenge themselves of the *Midianites*, and for this end to Arm themselves, and to go against them and avenge the LORD of *Midian*; which they executed with the slaughter of all the Males. And afterwards also, by the LORD's Command in the Days of *Gideon*. Whence I argue, If People must vex their Enemies, and avenge themselves over them by a War Offensive, when ensnared by their Craftiness; much more may they resist them by a War Defensive, when invaded by their Cruelty: But here they are commanded to vex their Enemies, and avenge themselves over them by a War Offensive, when ensnared by their Craftiness, and that upon a Moral Ground. Ergo, &c. 2. There is a Command, in case of the Apostacy of any City or Party into Idolatry, and if it should be heard among the People of GOD, that certain Children of *Belial* are gone out from among them, and have withdrawn the Inhabitant's of the City, saying, let us go and serve other Gods, then they must enquire and make search and ask Diligently. and behold if it be Truth, and the thing certain, that such Abomination is wrought among them; then they shall surely smite the Inhabitants of that City with the Edge of the Sword, destroying it utterly. Deut. 13. 12, 15. And upon this Moral Ground was *Israel's* War stated against prevailing *Benjamin*, Jud. 20. when there was no King. And also when there were Kings that turned Idolaters and Tyrants, they Served them so, as here is Commanded, Witness *Amaiah* (as is shewed above.) Hence I argue, If People are to bring to Condign Punishment Idolatrous Apostates seeking to Entice them; then also much more they ought to resist such Tyrants, as seek to Obtrude upon People, and enforce them to the same Apostacy. But here People are Commanded to bring to condign Punishment Idolatrous Apostates, seeking to Entice them. Ergo, &c. 3. There is a Precept given, not only to defend, but also to rescue and deliver our Brother when in hazard: for omitting
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Which Duty, no pretence, even of Ignorance, will Excuse it. Prov. 24. 11. 12. *If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto Death, and those that are ready to be slain. If thou sayest, behold we know it not; doth not he that Pondereth the Heart consider it? And he that keepeth thy Soul, doth not He know it? And shall not he render to every Man according to his Works.* This Precept is indefinitely given to all, principally indeed belonging to Righteous Magistrates; but in case of their Omission, and if in stead of defending them, they be the Persons that draw them to Death, then this Precept is no more to be restricted to them, than that in the 1. Vers. not to be invious against Evil Men; or that in Vers. 10. If thou Faint in the Day of Adversity thy strength is small. Hence I argue, *If it be a Duty to rescue our perishing Brethren, from any prevailing Power that would take their Lives unjustly, and no Pretence even of Ignorance will Excuse the forbearance of it; then much more is it a Duty, to Defend them and our selves both, against their Murdering Violence, but here it is Commanded as a Duty, to rescue our Brethren from any prevailing Power that would take their Lives unjustly, and no pretence, even of Ignorance, will Excuse the forbearance of it.* Ergo, &c. 4. There is a Precept for reforming the Courts of Kings, with a Promise that if this be done, it shall tend to the Establishment of their Throne; which is not only a Supposition in case it be done, but a supposed Precept to do it, with an Information of the necessity and Expediency of it, that it is as suitable as the taking away of the Dross from Silver, in order to the Production of a Vessel. Prov. 25. 5. *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be Established in Righteousness.* Whence I argue, *If it be a Duty to reform the Court, and to take away a King's Wicked Sycophant Counsellors, Agents and Instigators to Tyranny; then also it is a Duty to restrain their Insolency, and to repress their Tyranny. But here it is Commanded as a Duty to reform the Court, and to take away a King's wicked Sycophant Counsellors, Agents and Instigators to Tyranny.* Ergo, also it is a Duty, to restrain their Insolency and Tyranny, and consequently to resist them. 5. There is a Precept given to a humbled People, that have groaned long under the Yoke of Tyranny and Oppression, enjoining them as a Proof of their sincerity in Humiliation, to bestir themselves in shaking off these Evils they had procured by their Sins. Isa. 58. 6. *Is not this the Fast that I have chosen, to loose the Bands of Wickedness, to undo the heavy Burdens, and to let the Oppressed go free, and that ye break every Yoke? is it not to deal thy bread to the Hungry, and to bring the poor that is cast out, to thy House, &c.?* Which are all good Works of Justice and Mercy, and which are more acceptable to GOD than High-Flown pretences of Humiliation, under a stupid Submission, and hanging down the Head as a Bulrush. *It is be caviled, 1. That these are Spiritual Bands and Yokes, that are* here

here Commanded to be loosed and broken. For Answer, I grant that is the great duty of a People humbling themselves before the LORD, *to break off their Sins by Righteousness, and their Iniquity, by shewing Mercy to the Poor.* Dan. 4. 27. But that this is the only Duty I deny, or that this is the Genuine and only Sense of this Place, cannot be proved or approved by the Scope, which is to Press them to those Duties they omitted, whereby the poor oppressed People of GOD, might be freed from the Yokes of them that made them to howl, and to bring them to the Conviction of these Sins, for which the LORD was contending with them, whereof this was one, *that they Exacted all their Labours, on things where-with others were grieved,* as the Margent Reads, or suffered the poor to be Oppressed. 2. If it be alledged, That this is the Duty proper to Rulers, to relieve the oppressed, &c. I answer, it is so; yet most commonly they are the Oppressors themselves, and cast out the Poor, which others must take into their Houses. But the Duty here is pressed upon all the People, whose sins are here cryed out against. *Vers. 1.* Upon all who *Professed the Service of GOD, and asked the Ordinances of Justice.* *Vers. 2.* Upon all who were *Fasting and Humbling themselves, and complained they had no Success.* *Vers. 3.* The Reasons whereof, the LORD discovers, *Vers. 4, 5.* whereof this was one, *That they did not loose these Bands, nor break these Yokes, nor relieved the Oppressed;* and these Works of Justice *Vers. 6.* are pressed upon the same Persons, that the Works of Mercy are pressed upon. *Vers. 7.* sure these are not all nor only Rulers. Hence I argue, *If it be acceptable to GOD for a Mourning People to relieve the Oppressed, and to break the Yoke of Oppressors, then it is their Duty to use the most effectual Means, which are Defensive Arms. But here it is Commanded, as acceptable to GOD for a Mourning People, to relieve the Oppressed, and to breake the Yoke of the Oppressors.* (No Mention or Matter who they be, Rulers, or others.) Ergo, &c. 6. There is a Command for a Spoiled and Oppressed People, when the LORD is reconciled to them, and in his Sympathy Reckons, what wrong is done to them, as done to himself, and puts them in capacity to deliver themselves from their Rulers Servitude. *Zech. 2. 7.* *Deliver thy self, O Zion! that dwellest with the Daughter of Babylon,* which Comprehends all the Ordinary Active means of People's, delivering themselves from the Oppressing Powers that Rule over them, and consequently Defensive Resistance, for it cannot only be restricted to flight, tho' that is included. *Vers. 6.* but the Promise annexed *Vers. 9.* imports more than only delivering themselves by Flight, when they that spoiled them shall be a spoil to their Servants; whereby it is insinuated that they were so to deliver themselves, as not only to free themselves from their Servitude, but to bring their Masters under Subjection. Whence it may be argued, *If*

the LORD's People being Subject to higher Powers Ruling over them for the Time, may deliver themselves from their Oppressing Masters. Then may they resist them and defend themselves: But here the LORD's People being Subject to higher Powers Ruling over them for the Time, are Commanded to deliver themselves from their Oppressing Masters (and for their Encouragement, have Promise of making them their Servants.) Ergo, &c. 7. There is a Command given by CHRIST to His Disciples, to provide themselves with Defensive Weapons, necessary for their Defence against them that would Pursue after their Lives, as well as with other things necessary for their resistance. Luke 22. 36. *Then said He unto them, &c. But now, he that hath Purse let him take it, and likewise his Scrip, and he that hath Sword, let him sell his Garment and Buy one.* Before, when He had set them out upon an Extraordinary Commission, as it were to Serve their Apprentiship in the Work of the Gospel, he did not allow them such Solicitous care to Provide themselves with things necessary, because he would give them a Proof of his sufficiency to sustain and protect them without means, but now, when he was about to withdraw his Bodily Presence from them, and would warn them of the Discouragements they were to expect in the Prosecution of their more-continued Work, that they had a Commission for, which was not to be retracted; He would not have them to expect Provision and Protection by a Course of Miracles; but to provide themselves with Means for their Sustenance, and also for their Defence against the Violence of Men, which chiefly was to be expected from Rulers, who would persecute them, under the Notion of Transgressors of the Laws of their Kingdoms and Countries. He was not indeed to make much Use of them at that Time for himself, who was then to finish the Work of Redemption by Sufferings, only that what was written might be accomplished in him, he would make so much Use of them, as voluntarily to be involved under the Censure and Reproach of Rebellion, being taken among Men in Arms, that he might be reckoned among Transgressors. V. 37. Therefore when they told him they had two Swords, he said, *It is enough.* V. 38. I need not stand upon that ignorant, ridiculous Impertinency of a Conceit, that these were *Spiritual Swords*, which deserves no Confutation, being fitter to be put among Quakers delirious Distractions, than to be numbered among the Notions of Men of Understanding; for then the Purse and Scrip must be spiritual too; and these Spiritual Things must be bought by selling of Garments, and they would be such Spiritual Tools as would have a sharp Edge, for cutting of carnal Ears, and such as be both visible and sensible, and two of them would be enough. They were then *ordinary material Swords*, which the LORD commands his Followers to provide

provide themselves with for their Defence, as Men, in Case of Necessity, and when they should be in a Capacity to improve them against their murdering Persecutors, against whom he gives his Royal Grant of Resistance, that the World may know, his Subjects, tho' they have more Priviledges Spiritual; yet they have no less humane Priviledges than other Men, albeit at that Period of his determinate Sufferings, he would not allow the Use of them. Hence I argue, *If the LORD's People should provide themselves with Arms of Defence, though they should be reputed Transgressors for so doing; then may they use these Arms of Defence against them that prosecute them under that Notion: But by this Command, the LORD's People must provide themselves with Arms of Defence, though they should be reputed Transgressors for their so doing, Ergo, &c.*

5. We may infer the same Truth from many Prayers of the Saints, wherein they glory in the confident Expectation of the LORD's Strengthening them, and favouring and approving their Helpers, and in the Experience of the LORD's assisting them, with all imprecating Destruction to their oppressing Rulers, and all this, while they were constitute in a formed Appearance of Resistance against them. I shall only hint at some Instances. 1. In that Prayer, *Psa. 44.* They encouraged themselves in the Remembrance of former Favours GOD had vouchsafed upon their Fathers, to pray in Faith, that the LORD might command Deliverance for Jacob; and in Confidence of that, *V. 5.* they glory in Hope, *That through him they will push down their Enemies, and through his Name tread them under that rise up against them;* yet now they were under the Power of Tyrannizing Dominations, which they were resisting: For, *V. 9.* they complain, *They were put to Shame, because the LORD went not forth with their Armies, and they which hated them spoiled them, and they were made a Reproach to their Neighbours, and for his sake were killed all day long, and counted as Sheep for the Slaughter:* Hence they are fervent in pleading, *That the LORD would awake and arise for their Help, and not forget their Affliction and Oppression;* whereby it is evident, they were under the Yoke of tyrannizing Powers, and resisting them according to their Might, which by whomsoever, or upon what Occasion soever the Psalm was compiled, shews that no Want of Success in resisting Tyrants can mar the Saints Faith, in pleading for the LORD's Assistance and Approbation of the Duty; but if it was *David's* (as the Title so ordinarily would seem not obscurely to import) it adds greater Strength to the Argument; for it could not be while he was King. No Instance can be given in all his History, of the LORD's People being redacted to such a Misery, as is here complained of, during that Time; therefore it must have a Relation to that Time, when he with others of the Godly were under *Saul's*

Tyranny

Tyranny, against whom, he with others were maintaining a stated Resistance; tho' it came not to an active bloody Engagement; yet on *David's* Part it was an hostile Defensive Appearance, and a declared Resistance; for he had an Army of 600 Men, whose Captain he was in that Expedition. Hence I argue. *They that in Faith may pray for, and boast of their treading down the Tyrannizing Powers, that rise up against them, may also in Faith attempt the resisting of them in their own defence; But here the LORD's People did in Faith pray for, and boast of their treading down the Tyrannizing Powers, that rose up against them. Ergo, &c.* 2. When in Pursuite of this resolved Endeavour of self Preservation, *David* and his Men, being in Number 600, had escaped from *Keilah*, they abode in the Wilderness of *Zibp*, of which the *Ziphites* informed the Tyrant; but the LORD diverted his Fury by the Invasion of the *Philistines*, 1 *Sam.* 23. Afterwards they informed him of *David's* hiding in *Hachilah*, whither when he came, the LORD indeed did offer an Opportunity to *David* to revenge himself upon him, when he found him sleeping within the Trench, and his Spear stuck in the Ground at his Bolster; but *David* having a tender Respect to him, as being the LORD's Anointed, in which Character he yet apprehended a resedent Majesty (though by this Time he had *de jure* forfeited it) and having a particular Promise and Assurance, that the LORD would deliver him at length from his Tyranny, did not find it his Duty, to assassinate him in a private Way, upon a private Quarrel; but resolved only to keep himself out of his Hands, 1 *Sam.* 26. Chap. Yet then in the Psalm, which he composed upon that Occasion, he not only complains, that Oppressors sought after his Soul, but encourages himself in the Faith, that GOD would be with them that assisted him in his Essay of defending himself, *Psa.* 54. 4. Behold GOD is mine Helper, the LORD is with them that uphold my Soul; and imprecates Destruction to *Saul* and his Complices, V. 5. Cut them off in thy Truth; and triumphs in the Confidence that he should see his Desire upon them, V. last. As also in *Psal.* 57. where he calls them Lions set on Fire, whose Teeth are Spears and Arrows, V. 4. And *Psal.* 59. where he complains, That the mighty were gathered against him, not for his Transgression nor Sin, and made a Noise like a Dog; and went round about the City; And prays, That they might be scatter'd and brought down and consumed; a Prayer which would be accounted rank Treason now a-days; yet clear it is from the Title, that it was against *Saul* and his Complices. Hence I argue, If the LORD's People conflicting with and encompassed by oppressing Rulers, as so many Lions and Dogs, may pray, and praise for the Help of those that assist them in their Preservation against them; then may they make use of their Help for their Defence, for which they may pray and praise: But here we see the LORD's People, conflicting with, and encompassed by

by oppressing Rulers, as so many Lions and Dogs, may pray and praise for the Help of those, that assist them in their Preservation against them: Ergo, &c. 3. Upon Occasion of Doeg's Information against him, and the Plots and Troubles projected, and raised thereupon, he prays not only against him; but Saul also, That the LORD would deliver, preserve and keep him from their Hands, and that in Confidence of the LORD's experienced Strength, who had covered his Head in the Day of Battel, Psal. 140. 7. And expressly against Saul he imprecates V. 9. *As for the Head of those that compass me about, let the Mischief of their own Lips cover them.* Certain it is, the Head of them was Saul: Whence I argue, *If we may pray against Kings, and for Preservation from them; then may we defend our selves against them, and Endeavour the Means of that Preservation, for which we pray.* The Connection, however it may seem a Paradox to some, it will appear, if we consider, that that which will give a Dispensation from our Duty of praying for them, will also dispense from the Duty of being passively subject to their Will; and consequently will allow defending our selves from their Violence: But here we see Tyranny and Treachery, and designed Mischief will give a Dispensation from our Duty of praying for them, tho' that be a Duty as indispensable as Subjection. Again if any thing demur us from resisting of Princes, it must be Respect to their Majesty, and the Character of the LORD's Anointing upon them: But we see, no Respect to that will demur a Believer from praying in Faith against them. Therefore no such Respect will hinder, but that he may defend himself against their Violence. And indeed if we consider it right, if the Impression of any Majesty, GOD hath put upon Princes, should bind up our Hands from any Resistance, it will restrain from Prayer-Resistance. For if that Impression have any Force at any Time, it must be when a Man is most solemnly stated before GOD, and speaking to GOD, acting as a Christian, rather than when a Man is acting as a Man, with a Man like himself: And as Prayer-Resistance is the more formidable and forcible Resistance than any other (as this Saul and many other Kings have found the Force of it, by their woful Experience) so it is more restricted than any other Resistance; for we may defend our selves against many, whom we must not pray against, viz. our private Enemies, for whom we are commanded to pray; yet no Body will deny, but we may resist their Violence. And likewise we are commanded to pray for Kings, when invested with, and improving their Authority for GOD; in which Case we are not to resist them any way. But when their Degeneration looses us from that Obligation to pray for them, and allows us to pray against them, when they turn Enemies to GOD (as we see in this Prayer of the Psalmist's) then also we may more warrantably resist them by defensive

five Arms. 4. Among the HALLELUJAHS in the End of the *Psalms*, there is one calculate for a Triumphant State of the Church, though relating to Time, when she is militant, but prevailing; when the LORD is taking Pleasure in his People, and beautifying the Meek with Salvation. In that Time of the Saints being joyful in Glory, and singing aloud upon their Beds, when they may glory in the Rest and Security the LORD will vouchsafe upon them, they are very pathetically and prophetically excited to Praise Prayer-wise, *Psal.* 149. 6. to the End *Let the high Praises of GOD be in their Mouths, and a two edged Sword in their Hand, to execute Vengeance upon the Heathen, and Punishments upon the People; to bind their Kings with Chains, and their Nobles with Fetters of Iron. To execute upon them the Judgment written. This Honour have all his Saints. Hallelujah.* This was their Praise and Honour, when they were brought in to execute Vengeance upon their Kings and Nobles of *Canaan*. This also in *David's* Time was the Ambition and Attainment of the Saints, in their triumphant Victories over many of their Oppressors round about them. But it looks to a further and more famous Execution of Vengeance upon the Powers of the Earth; when they shall have long kept under the Church of GOD, and at length the LORD shall give his People a Capacity to break their Yoke; which when ever it shall be, shall be their Honour. Hence I argue, *If it be the Honour of the Saints, when the LORD puts them in Capacity to execute Vengeance upon their Enemies, tho' they be Kings that oppress them; Then it may be their Ambition to seek that Honour, that at least they may resist them: But it is the Honour of all the Saints, when the LORD puts them in Capacity to execute Vengeance upon their Enemies, though they be Kings that oppress them. Ergo, It may be their Ambition to seek that Honour that at least they may resist them.* And thus I have endeavoured, to make my Offer good, to prove the Lawfulness of resisting the Sovereign Powers, that have the Rule of a Nation, from several Scriptures, from which tho' other precious Truths may be deduced; yet this Truth by unstrained, and unconstrained Consequence, may also be clearly inferred.

The Account of my Tryal before the Justiciary, August 6th, 1685.

MY present Pressures and Perplexities (not unknown to Friends concerned) do incapacitate me to give any perfect or satisfactory Account of the Progress of this my last Prosecution; The Conduct of it was so intricate, that I cannot relate all things, and the Product of it so uncertain, and unfavoury to many, that I cannot signify any thing at this Time to the clearing of it, and undeceiving People about it. Only it will be necessary for the behoof of some, to give some Narration of it; which though it cannot be capable of such a Representation as may be necessary for my Vindication, and my dearest Friends

Satisfaction

Satisfaction (who are the Friends of CHRIST who by Grace are preserved in the greatest Degree of Faithfulness in this declining Day) yet I think it incumbent upon me, for their Information, to offer a true, sincere and impartial Declaration of it, not for justifying every thing I have done, but to impart to all the Fearers of the LORD, how much he hath in his Mercy, Wisdom, and Faithfulness done for me, and how little I could say or do for Him or his Interests in this Tryal, which called for a Testimony of my Hands, that (alas !) I could not give ; and in this to ascribe to Him the Glory of His Wisdom and Goodness and take to my self the Shame of my Folly, Faintness and unfaithfulness. I could never enough Admire the Almighty's wonderful interposure in the Nick of my extreme Hazard, at the beginning of this Current Parliament, diverting the fury of those that sought my Life, by protracting it all this Time until now ; when the Appearance of some of my Comrads before the Council brought my Name and case to remembrance again, whereupon Order was given to Indict me for maintaining, *That it is Lawful for Subjects upon pretence of Reformation, or any pretence whatsoever to enter into Leagues and Covenants, or to take up Arms against the King, or these Commissionate by him, or to put Limitations upon their due Obedience and Allegiance, &c. And for disowning the King's Authority, and for owning, or refusing to disown the late Declaration Affixed upon several Parish Churches, IN SO FAR AS it declares War against the King, and Asserts it Lawful to Kill such as Serve him. &c.*

These wonderful Dispensations of Providence towards me, working me up to a resolved Submission, not only with content but with Complacency to leave the World at this Time, and the Honourable Veneration I ever had and have for these Truths hereby traduced, did oblige me to resolve upon Suffering, and to State it upon such Heads as are here charged upon me. And accordingly I desired to make an Offer of my self, if the LORD would think me worthy of such an Honour ; (but I see he will not have every Body) to resist unto my dearest Blood for a Testimony unto these Truths. But the LORD who saw my unfitness to die as a Martyr, of which I can say I was Ambitious, did also Determine me to try how to prevent my Murder, and to find out Means to discover it, if it should be unavoidable, so as that it should be manifest to the Conviction of the World, even from the Laws now Current. In Observance of which (tho' mischievously enough contrived) I knew they could not take my Life. I was always of the Mind that a Christian having to do with such as *ly in wait for Blood*, and yet dare not avouch it openly, but pretend Forms of Law, should prove himself a Man and plead for all Humane Priviledges and Legal Defences, to the end he may make it evident, they must Streach Law, even their own Law before they

they can reach him. I do not say it can be always so, neither will I take upon me to Censure those that do not so; nor justify what I have endeavoured of that kind: Nay, *Let the Righteous rebuke me, and it shall be as Oyl to mine Head.* Only I would let my Friends know that I was determined to use this Method, because I expected to be Martyr'd and I was resolv'd to make it appear to the World that I was most Illegally Murdered.

Upon which Consideration, when I received my Indictment I wrote a Letter to the King's Advocat, Representing, *That my Condition was never of that significancy as to deserve his Wrath, and now brought to that Pass, as was not unworthy of his Patrociny, at-least of Pity. That my Condition being so mean, my Thoughts of things were always proportioned to it, never exercised in great Matters, nor in things too high for me, Psal. 131. That it is no small Wonder, how any Thoughts or Sayings of mine should be reputed of that Consequence, as to be thought worthy to be the Object either of their noticing or Indignation. But such as they are, they are the Dictates of Conscience, which being the only Interest and Liberty I have in the World, I must desire to Entertain till I get a better; that to preserve this void of Offence, I left my Native Country and Travelled somewhat in the World and that if it had not been out of respect to Conscience, I needed not to have seen Scotland at this Time; for after I was Bailed out upon a Bond to Answer, and might have eluded the Bond by paying the Penalty, I durst not break the Obligation; That I was sent to Scotland upon a Charge of High-Treason, which upon Tryal he knew the Amount of, that it was not for any Plot or overt-Act against any Law, only because I could not think as the Law required and would fain have declined a Declaration of my Thoughts: That was my first Fault (if any) and when in prospect of the Danger of my Life then threatened for it, I satisfied the Law, Yet upon an after Review I was made to think that I had strained Conscience, as Providence did afterwards discover by my intercepted Letter, which in plain Honest Hearted Ingenuity I did own before them several Times, and therefore desiring him not to take Advantage against me from that, nor Prosecute me to the Forfeiture of my Life, because I cannot consent to the implicit abandoning of my Conscience to which I am a Prisoner, as well as for it, and to consider if this be a Crime not to be expiated, but by my Blood, and ponder these things in the Sight of GOD, &c.* And in the Postscript I desired to speak with him in private where, and when he should appoint.

Besides this thinking that Sir William Paterson my Old Regent at the Collidge had some influence upon such of the Justiciary as are Members of Council, I accosted him likewise with another Letter, Representing, *That I had a very grateful Sense of his former Favours, which made me bold to beg a new Proof of his Kindness, that my despicable inconsiderate abnegation was not unknown to his Honour, being his Disciple sometime, which on it gave*

me the hope of his favourable Construction, so did it make it strange how I could be repus of such words as to be the Object of the Cognizance or Indignation of the Supreme Courts of the Nation, especially for my Opinions, whereby I could never be supposed to be in any capacity to hurt any Body but my self (if they were hurtful) that tho' I had Travell'd somewhat in the World, yet I never incurred such a Censure for Words or Actions, Opinion or Practice, as that I was such an unfociable little Animal as deserved to be Exterminated out of the World for them; that my Charge was only because my Young Eyes could not see with these Spectacles that the Law Prescribes. That the declining to give my Judgment of things was Offensive at first, and then declaring of it when Extorted was also displeasing; first for not satisfying the Law, I was severelie Threatened; and then when Providence did discover my Resentment of that, I am now Staged; for not having satisfied my self; and desiring him to consider seriously these things, and that there were many ways to break an Egg without an Ax. That he would therefore use means, either to stop the Prosecution, or for the Mitigation of the Sentence, &c.

I believe these Letters did somewhat allay their fury, for I understand they were Communicated to severals of the Lords. But again reflecting that the chief thing that would Straiten me would be the Oath of Abjuration, I thought upon some Draught of my Sentiments about the Matter of it, in the general to Represent, to them for my own Exoneration, that I might not be thought to maintain any Murdering Principles, and if it might stop their Mouth, which when I delivered I found had some such Effect, the Tenor of it was as follows.

The Sincere Sentiments of my Mind about the Declaration lately affixed on several Churches on which I am Indicted are,

1. I do Disown and Abhorre all War of Subjects professedly declared against a Lawful King as such, all War against Lawful Authority, all War without Authority, or indeclinable Necessity; all War founded, or designed for maintaining Principles inconsistent with Policy or Piety; all War declared in that sense related in the Proclamation about the Declaration, or which may bear these Inferences therein specified. 2. I do Disown not only all such Assertions but all such Thoughts as that it is Lawful to Kill all such as Serve the King, or any Man because they serve him, or because they differ from us in Judgment or Profession, or because they have injured us any manner of way. I abhorre all Assertions of the Lawfulness of Assassinations, Murders or any private Killing or Slaying under Colour of Law, or without it upon any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever of Usurped Power, Revenge, Rage, or Embusht impulse, as being against Christianity and Humanity. 3. I do disown my having any Hand, or being art and part in that pretended Declaration directly or indirectly, by my Concurrence,

Contrivance, Counsel, Knowledge or Connivance, or any manner of way, and I disown all Intentions for my own part to Prosecute or Persecute or endeavour to punish any that have served the King in any capacity because they have injured me, even though my greatest Enemies but do think my self obliged in Christian Duty to Pray for all my Enemies, and bless them, and do all Offices of Kindness to them. 4. But yet I humbly and conscientiously demur to take that Oath for some private Reasons. 1. Because I look upon it as an Oath imposed upon a severe Penalty which whatever be the Matter of the Oath, is a thing I have no clearness for at present. 2. Because I humbly conceive it misrepresents the Declaration it self, wherein I am not clear that such things are Asserted. 3. Because whatever be my own Thoughts of the thing, I dare not pass a Judgment on the Deed of others so Solemnly, or to take upon me to Censure or Condemn them, or justify any Severity exercised upon some Presbyterians who cannot or dare not disown it. This I Subscribed & kept in readiness against the Day of my Appearance, supposing that possibly I should not be permitted to speak so much.

In the Morning of that Day, of my Tryal I was taken out alone by a Macer, to speak with the Advocat, I expected it was for a private Conference with him, but when I came to the Place (which was the ordinary Place of the Criminal-Court) I found all the Lords of the whole Justiciary present, who after a little delay Calling and Inrolling the Assize, did call me before them. Then told me I had got extraordinary Favours shewed me, and that they were never at such Pains and Trouble about any Man to keep him from a Tryal as they were about me. I answered, I was ready to acknowledge all Favours; that if they were troubled about me it was not my Fault. That I never was nor would be Troublesome to the World, if they would let me alone. They Replied, *That they were very tender of me, and out of Tenderness and Compassion they did what could be done to save me from coming before the Parliament.* I answered, I wished I had gone before the Parliament; for I expected Favour from them, and could not think they would take away my Life upon such slender Grounds. They Replied, *They would as certainly have hanged you as ever a Man was, and intended to have made a Publick Example of you; And now said they, take heed to your self, and do not throw away your Life.* No, said I, my Lords, I do not intend to throw it away, I got it to keep till He who gave it call for it, and if he do at this Time, as I have been Threatened, I have endeavoured to make my self ready to lay it down. They Replied, *We thought you had more Understanding than to Die like a Fool for Nicities and quibbles.* I answered, I had a Conscience that would not let me live like a Knave, and withal *that I thought they had more Justice than to take my Life for*
Nicities

Nicities. They Protested, *They would be free of my Blood, and did not desire my Life.* Then we fell to Speak about Conscience, and I said several things about it, that it was a tender thing, and the greatest Interest that a Man hath in the World, and not implicitly to be Subjected to any Creature, it being the LORD's Prerogative to be Law-giver to it, that it should be informed and corrected, and not imposed upon. That it is GOD's immediate Deputy not answerable to any Courts among Creatures, that I was a Prisoner to it, as well as for it. That it was very hard and odious among Christians and Protestants, to take away a Man's Life for it. That were more suitable where the Inquisition is the design of these Methods, where no mean of Information is used must be to debauch it or destroy it. They were very Angry at my Language, yet said, *they were very inclinable to Pity me.* I cannot tell if it was immediately after this; but I remember, Colingtoun was much incensed and enraged against me, and told me, I deserved no Pity, and fell to Aggravate my Crime, *That I was a Turbulent Pestilent Fellow, a perverter of others, and Spreader of Rebellious Principles, an Owner of, and Converser with Murderers; that I wrote Letters to John Balfour the Murderer of the late Arch-Bishop of St. Andrews:* At which the rest hushed, as if they had not desired to insist upon that, then he held his Peace. I said nothing to all this. Then they told me, the *Terms upon which I was to save my Life this Day were, that I must take the Oath of Abjuration, and own, that King James the 7th was my Lawful King and Sovereign.* I answered, that if they were not content with what I had said on these Heads already, I could not give them any further satisfaction, that I had used all Ingenuity before them about these things, and more then I needed, and if it were to do again, possibly they should not know so much of my mind; and that I hoped they would not make such use of it against me. Then the Oath of Abjuration was tendered, I told them how I had satisfied them once already about it; and now because Providence discovered that I could not satisfy myself in that I must be threatened with Death. They Replied *That I tore my Name from it, and so produced the Paper.* I answered, I did that at your Lordships Command. Some said, *That was deep Policy in a jeering way.* I answered, I was no great Politician, and if they Hang me for a Plotter, they would be far in the wrong to me. So they went to urge the Oath again. And to give Reasons of my refusal, I told them of the deep Wound it had given to my Conscience, and how I was over-perswaded to it through fear of Death and other Carnal Motives, but now I fear the like Torture in a Relapse more than Death. Then I repeated the Reasons in the abovementioned Draught. Then I was asked, *If I would not Vindicate myself from dying for, and being reputed an Owner of such Murdering Principles*

plea, Destructive to all Humane Society? I answered, I would, so far as I could, and thereupon I delivered the foresaid Draught of the sincere *Sentiments* of my Mind about it, which the Clerk was Ordered to Read, and they themselves passed it from Hand to Hand, and declared, *they were Good things in the General; and that I maintained Good enough General Principles, but that I drew bad Conclusions from such Premisses always.* I answered, that behoved to be, because I was a bad Logician, I hoped they would not Hang me for that. They Smiled at this, then passed on to the Question about *Authority*, I answered after the common manner, I owned all lawful Authority according to the Word of GOD. They replied, *I still harped upon Generals; but when it came to particulars, they found me out.* So urged, *If I would own the just and lawful Authority of King James the 7th.* I answered, I owned all the Particulars that are contained in Generals. Well then, said they, you own the lawful Authority of this present King. I answered, if it be lawful Authority, I own it, they were very Angry at that, and said, *I did nothing but consume Time with my quibbles, and what was I to question the King's Authority.* I answered, it was they that questioned it, for I purposed not to Question it, and I would tell them how far I would own it, I owned his Lineal and Legal Succession, as being next in Blood and Line, I owned his Providential Advancement to the Throne, I owned as much I thought did oblige me to all the Duties of Christian Subjection, more I could not say. They told me, *I must say more, or else die,* and so dismissed me, and the Macer carried me out to the Utter-House among the Pannels, where I stayed sometime.

My Second Conference.

Then they called me in again, and told me, *if I had a mind to be saved, they would save me.* I answered, I had a good mind to be saved, if it could consist with a safe Conscience, they told me, *now was the Hour, and if I did not something for their Satisfaction, now, I might expect the worst of it.* I answered, I knew the worst of it, which would be little hurt to me, and far less profit to them; and so began to Exhort them to ponder the danger of Innocent Blood; I being charged with no *Fact* or *Overt Act*, but only for *Matters of Opinion*, several things I said there, which I cannot particularly remember, it being for the Substance contained in the Letters above rehearsed. I got a reply, *That the declaring and maintaining such Opinions, as these were, declared high Treason by Act of Parliament.* I answered, that if I had known that, may be, I would not have declared them; and that it is a hard Matter, first to be forced to tell our Thoughts, and then to be Hanged for it. The Advocate replied, *That the Matters I was questioned upon were such as every Person was obliged to give an account of his Thoughts, as being Matters that concern the whole Community, every Man must own the Government where he Lives*

Lives, and disown Principles and Practices, Destructive of all Government, that if I mentioned these things, I would not be suffered to live in any Kingdom under Heaven. I answered, I have been in several Kingdoms of the World, where I could have lived peaceably, and yet was never questioned about these things; neither do I believe there is any Kingdom or Common-Wealth on Earth, that would put such Questions to their Subjects or Strangers; and that the moving them to many poor People in this Kingdom, was a great Cause why it is so much questioned, and doubted by People, who would never have enquired into it else. *Well but,* said they, *what do you say to it now, will you own the King to be you Lawful Sovereign, or not?* I answered, I adhere to my former Answers. *Do you adhere,* said they, *to your own former Confessions subscribed by your own Hand?* I answered, Yes, I must adhere to them; but I think they cannot legally be made Use of for my Conviction, such a Probation I judge it very strange, that they made Use of against me, when I was commanded to sign my Confessions, which I complied with very *unadvisedly*, and yet that they should take such Advantage against me as to make Use of it for my Condemnation, that a Man's *Ingenuity* declaring his present *Thoughts* of things, when extorted, should be made an Engine for his Destruction, is very strange. They told me, *by my own Words I must be justified and condemned, and that if I would now answer discreetly and satisfyingly, they would pass from all by-gone Confessions, and every thing.* I told them, I would answer as well as I could plainly and ingenuously. They said, *I was always too plain.* Now, said they, *What say you to the King's Authority?* I answered, I could say little more to it than what I had said already. I have not denied his Authority; but do own it as much as any Man in my Capacity is obliged to own him. I own all Subjection to him *in the LORD*. So, said they, *he can never hold of his Distinctions.* I answered, My Lords, I must needs say some thing for the Exoneration of my own Conscience, as well as for your Satisfaction. I cannot own all Authority simply. They replied, *We do not bid you own all Authority, but King James the 7th his lawful Authority.* I answered, I own Subjection to it. *Ho,* said some of them, *there is another Distinction, he owns Subjection to him, but not Allegiance.* I answered, These are not one, and must be distinguished. I cannot own Allegiance in the Terms it is imposed. It was urged by some, *Will not you own the Apostle's Doctrine, Rom. 13. To be subject to the higher Powers, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake?* I answered, Yes: Where the Powers are such as he there speaks of. I cannot say, All Powers are ordained of GOD by his PRECEPTIVE WILL, tho' they are all ordained by his PROVIDENTIAL WILL. I think it enough for me to own Subjection to these *in the LORD*. Said they, *What do you call Subjection?* *Do not you own King James 7th. to be your King?* I answered, I own him to be King.

But

But said they, *Is he not your lawful King and Sovereign?* I answered, *It was all one to me, whether he be Lawful, or not; I must be subject, since Providence hath set him up.* Ow; said they, *That is very lax.* I said, I hoped, they would not hang me for my Laxness: But, said they, *Is he not a Lawful King?* I answered, I have owned already, That I think he is as Lawful as *Providence*, and Legal or *Linial Succession*, can make him. Well said they, *What needs more, since that you own him to be your lawful King?* I answered, In that Sense I own it. They replied, *We will have nothing to do with Senses, say the Words.* My Lords, said I, I cannot say Words without a *Sense*, and especially such Words as are capable of another *Sense*, without explaining them. They asked, *What was that?* I answered, It must be thought, that I owned he was lawful by GOD's *Approbation*, That I cannot say; for sometimes he may charge a Nation with that, *Ye have set up Kings, and not by Me, and Princes, and I knew it not:* And besides, said I, I stick in it; because of some Old Laws, against the Succession of Papists, and because according to our Covenant Engagements, we are to own them only in Terms consistent with the Security of Religion and Liberty. They stormed at this; yet the Advocate replied soberly, *That as for the the Old Laws, they were all rescinded at the last Parliament, wherein the present King was Commissioner;* and so caused read the Act for the Duke of York's Succession. I answered, I never knew all former Laws, for the Security of the Protestant Religion were there rescinded before; but however I could not justify the Act, and durst not comply with it, IN SO FAR AS, to own the King's Lawful Authority simply; for if I should say as they would have me, I might be interpreted to justify that Act, which I cannot do. Then they called me *obstinate*; and many hard Names, and commanded me to the Pannel. I almost forgot about the Oath of Abjuration, how it was tossed, scarce worth the repeating. I remember, I told them, I could never consent to justify their Severity against *Conscientious Recusants* on that Head. I could not see in that *Declaration* any such *Assertions* of declaring such and such a War against the King, and that it was lawful to kill all in his Service employed under him. I am averie from all Oaths publickly imposed by Authority. They urged, *I should take it only IN SO FAR AS it declares, &c.* I answered, SO FAR AS, is because it declares, &c. which I cannot see it does, and so I should swear a Lie, which I durst not do. They said, *I saw further than they.* Then I answered, I would not say so; but only I could not see so far: But I must see before I swear; and further I told them, I would swear none at all. The Advocate asked, *If I would sign it?* I answered, I had torn my Subscription from it already, I would not sign it again. Then some proposed, that they perceived, *I only stuck at a meer nice Mataphysical Quibble about the Sense of the Words IN SO FAR AS,* and overtured, *That it may be written, IF SO BE, instead of IN SO FAR*

FAR AS. I told them, I would disown it then, as I had done already in Effect; in the Paper I had delivered in to them; but this they would not grant at that Time. I had almost forgot a Passage about the Authority, one proposed a Question, *What I thought of that Article of the Confession of Faith, affirming, That Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void, &c.* I answered, I thought it very sound Doctrine, it did not make void where it was lawfully invested; but it might incapacitate a Person from Authority; and so if K. James had been King before he was a Roman Catholick, I should not have quarrelled it: But their Lordships knew it was not so. Many other things passed at this Examination, that I cannot particularly rehearse; but at length with Frowns and Threatenings I was put in the Pannel.

The last CONFERENCE.

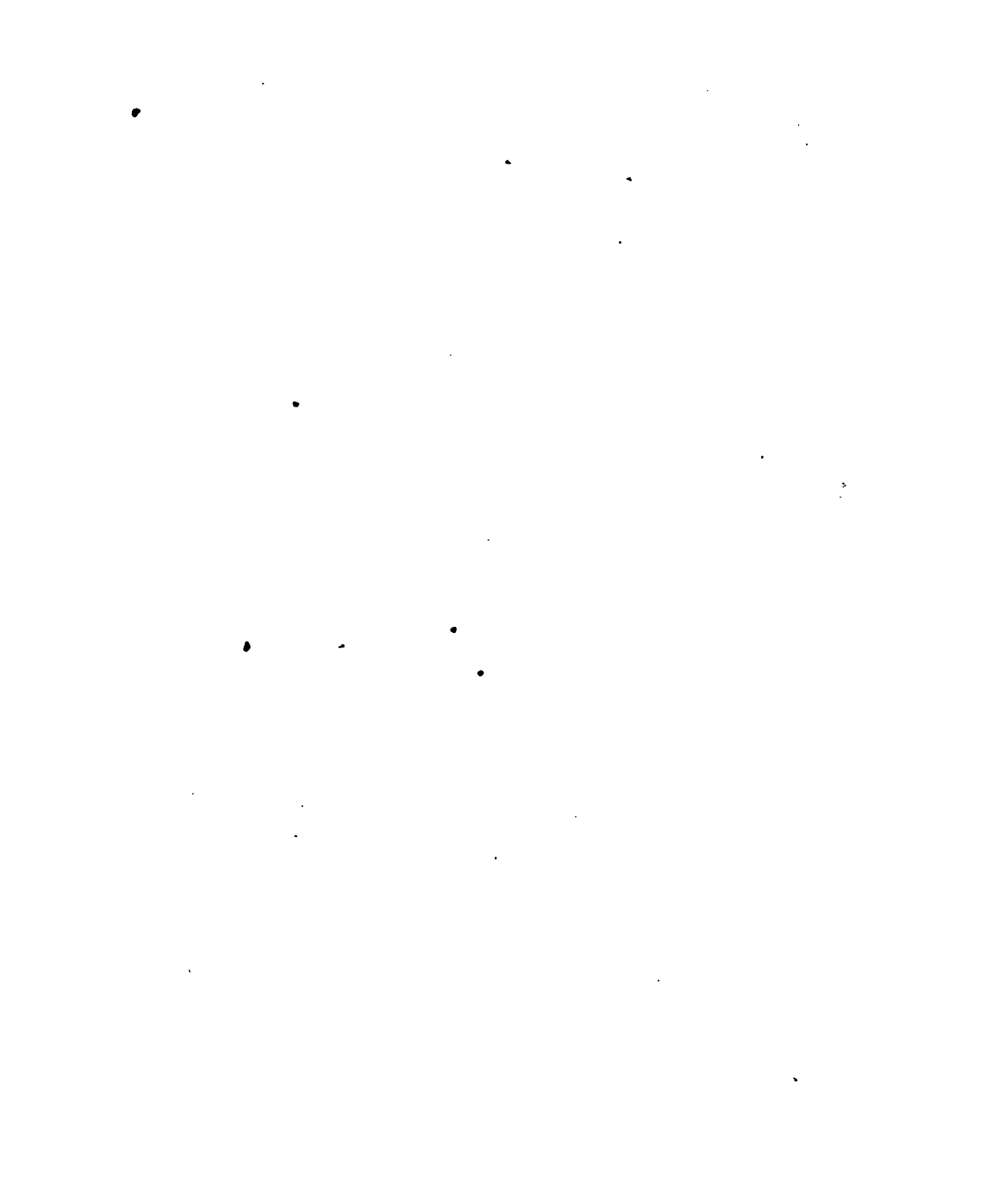
I Remain'd in the Pannel, a while alone before the rest of my Fellow Criminals were called, the Lords speaking together among themselves: In the mean Time, when the other Pannels were called, they began to examine them one by one. Then read the *Indictment*; then when it came to me, they asked, *What I had to say now; for these things needed no Probation against me?* I enquired, if I might have the Allowance of Advocates to plead for me, and to clear the Lybel's Irrelevancy. Sir George M'kenzie offered, that I might have whom I pleased, and asked whom I had engaged? I answered, I had engaged none; because I heard none would be admitted without the Council's Warrant, which I thought was very hard; being it seemed, they had determined to take away my Life before Hand; because they will not allow any to plead its Defences: But now said I, seeing my Lord Advocate hath offered the Priviledge, I solemnly invite any Advocate, to plead the Law in my Case, and not suffer me to be destroyed, because of my Ignorance of the Law, pointing, when I spoke this, to Sir William Paterson, and others sitting with him: And when none of them would answer, I said, It's hard, that Mens Lives should be so little valued; and that hence it might be observed, That if any Man, tho' never so innocent, were audaciously accused of Treason, then if he were a poor Man of mean Parts; and ignorant of the Law, as I am, he could not be sure of his Life; for it's easier to take it away, when all Means of Defence are taken away. When I had said this, two Advocates came to me, & told me quietly, *That no Advocate in Scotland would take it in Hand, or could plead any Legal Defences in my Case, the Matter was so clear against me.* I told them, If they had said, They would not, I durst believe it; but that they could not, I will never believe. Then I cried to the Justice General, craving leave to enquire, what Law they would found the Articles of my Indictment upon. The Advocate said, *The Laws were mentioned in the Indictment, and in the first Place, that Act 2. Sess. 2. Par. 1. K. Ch. 2. A Part whereof was read, Declaring these Positions mentioned in the Lybel to infer the Crime of Treason, and to be punished with Forfeiture and Loss of Life, Lands and Goods.* I replied, I cannot be convicted of the Breach of that Law. It was answered, *I had declared such things before the Lords, of which they were both Judges and Witnesses; and now they would know whether I owned such things or not.* I answered, That is not the Question now, whether I own them or not; but what I have done already, I humbly conceive was only a Declaration of my Thoughts of things before your Lordships, and not such a maintaining of Positions, as that Act condemns; for your Lordships can not say, I infused them into

or maintained them before the People, as the Act bears; and because no such Fruits and Effects can be fastened upon any thing I have done, or said in Pursuance of them, as are there in that Act specified, they were only my Thoughts declared, and not Positions maliciously and obstinately maintained, as the Act qualifies them, but only given, and extorted for your Lordships Satisfaction. It's a fore Matter to be threatened for declining our Thoughts, and then indicted for telling them. The Justice General asked, *When was I threatened for that?* I answered, My Lords, I have been threatened every Time I appeared before your Lordships; and I took that for a threatening, when you told me *the Law would make me do it*. The Times are very hard, when not only for a *Word a Man is made an Offender*, but also for *Thoughts*, and these extorted too. The Advocate said, *They would not so much insist on these common Positions with me, as the other Things incumbent upon all Subjects, viz. I declined to own the King's Authority, and to abjure the Declaration*. I demanded against what publick enacted Law, or Act of Parliament I had offended? He said, *Against all Law, and the Law of Nature and Nations, before there were any Acts of Parliament, by which every Subject is obliged to own the Authority he lives under*. I answered, That I granted it might be so by the Common Law, that publick disowning of the King's, or State's Authority might be very offensive; but I never heard a Law, That every one should positively own it, and declare his Conscience about it, when it is imposed. Then the Clerk was ordered to read the Act of Parliament (I forgot the Number) for the Duke of York's Succession: Which done, I replied, That neither could it be made out, that I had transgressed that Act; because there it only is declared, That he is Rightful and Lineal Successor, and Apparent Heir, and that none should disown, or oppose, or suspend him, from the Stile, Honour or Kingly Name of the *Imperial Crown* of this Realm, which I never did; but on the contrary, did own his *Legal and Lineal Succession*, and his Authority IN SO FAR AS, I was obliged to all the Duties of a Christian Subject: And further, I required to know what was the Duty required in that Act, as it concerned every private Man. It was replied, *That I and every one must own him to be our Lawful King & Soveraign*. I answered, I could not conceive it so; for that is only the *Recognition and Declaration* of them that made the Act, and not the Duty enjoined to every Subject; for all that's required of them in the Act, is not to *disown, oppose or suspend*, &c. And it must needs be so; for had I any Vote in that Parliament, or must I now give my *Suffrage* or Consent to it, or signifie my Conscientious Approbation of it? No: That I cannot do, nor is it incumbent, be it lawfully done or unlawfully, what can be charged against me, if I do not disobey it, or oppose it; let the King's Authority be lawful or unlawful, if I own Subjection, and cannot be charged with Treason, Rebellion or Disobedience, what have I more to do; but now I must plainly declare before this Court, That I cannot justifie that Act. Replied, *There's no Justification of it required of your Hand, but only to acknowledge K. James the 7 to be lawful King*. I answered, My Lords, you know from what I have said already, that I could say so much, but only I would have it understood in what Sense I say it. Said they, *You must subscribe it*. I demurred that, and said several Things about it; and so they left it, and came to the Abjuration next, affirming, *I was indicted there for owning, at least refusing to disown, that pretended Declaration, IN SO FAR AS, it declares, &c.* and

and asked me, *What I had to say to that?* I answered, That I would not dispute any Word about it, I had given in a Paper declaring my Sentiments about the Matter said to be contained in it; in repeating which I took all Auditors and Spectators Witness, *That I Disowned all such War as I had qualified it in my Paper, and disowned and abhorred all Murders and Sinful Assassinations;* And said that I thought that might satisfy all Law, and demanded what Law therein I Transgressed. It was replied, *I had Transgressed the Proclamation, the Common Law and Practique of the House as it was now Ratified and Confirmed by the 23d Act of his Majesty's current Parliament;* I answered, I had once satisfied that Law already in taking that Oath, and Reason would say that were enough, however I repented it afterwards: The Law saith not that a Man shall not repent of it, but now I am Indicted for not having satisfied myself. What could I help that? They Replied, *I should have held my Tongue of that, for that was the Aggravation of my Crime, that I tore my Name from the Paper.* I answered, That could be no Aggravation of it, which was done in Obedience to their Command; And when their Lordships said, *they would account me Disingenuous and Treacherous, if I did it not.* Well said they, *we will pass from that, if you will only Subscribe your Name by the Place where you tore it off.* I answered, I could not do that. Then they left off speaking to me: And after a while Pausing, wherein I put up Ejaculations to the LORD for Light and Resolution, at length I required a Sight of that 23d Act of Parliament which they said *was made particularly for me, and upon my Account,* which they gave me to read, and when I had read it, I found there was no Oath required, but only disowning that pretended Declaration, *IN SO FAR AS it declares,* &c. Then I spake to the Justice-General, that I humbly conceived it could not be made appear that I had Transgressed that Act neither; for here said I, there is no Obligation to take any Oath, which I only have refused, I have not refused to disown the Matter that you fasten upon that Declaration. There are many ways of disowning without Oaths. I do disown my having any Hand in that Declaration, or being Art or Part in it, and I will disown these things that are said to be asserted in that Declaration, IF SO BE, they be in it; tho' I think, I could make it appear it is Misrepresented. I did not hear what was replied to this, only I remember, the Advocate argued, *That by disowning there, in that Act, must be meant Abjuring, from a Clause in the Conclusion of it, which doth ratifie and approve all Processes laid or to be laid, according to the Practique of the House in that Matter;* which, said he, *was always by Swearing, or refusing to Swear.* To which I answered, that it did not follow, because the Act did approve what has been done in that Affair, that therefore it doth enjoin what shall be. There was much tugging about this Imposition of Oaths; for I told them, I was against all Imposition of Publick Oaths of that Nature, upon such Pains and Penalties. whatever the Matter of them was; and for this I had the Opinion of many Learned and Famous reformed Protestant Divines, and abundance of Reason too, because such Oaths could not be taken with *Deliberation;* because not with Voluntary choise. It increased Violence done to the Light of a Man's Conscience, which is the only *Retinacle* of an Oath's binding Force. It could not be taken, in Truth, Righte-

ousness and Judgement, which always supposed Consent, Light and Liberty, and so could not be accepted in the sight of GOD, whose Name is Interposed and Invoked, as a Witness and Arbitrator thereto. Yea, I told them, I was so averse from all Coactive Impositions of *Publick Oaths*, that though I was never supposed to be an Enemy to the *Covenant*, being a *Presbyterian*, and an Owner of all their Principles, and Practices suitable to their Principles; yet I could never justify the violent Imposition of it promiscuously. One of the *Assizes* asked me, *if I would refuse the Covenant if tendered*. I answered, I would refuse to be imposed upon, I would never refuse the *Covenant*, but it should be always with my cordial Consent, when I took it: At length the *Advocate* proposed, *I should be admitted to disown it, without an Oath, by Subscription*. Then I quarrelled at the Wording of it, IN SO FAR AS, and offered to disown it in the Terms, IF SO BE SUCH THINGS ARE THERE ASSERTED, which I knew were not, and told them they were not. At length through much difficulty it was granted to be conceived so, and a Paper ordered to be drawn, *wherein both I should own King James 7th. His Authority, and disown that Declaration, IF SO BE, such things were contained in it*, which was given to me to read and sign. I found the Paper tenderly Worded in the Terms I offered and owned before. Only I Objected against Subscribing, and alledged it was unnecessary, there being to many Witnesses of the Declaration of my Mind by Word of Mouth: But they reasoned, *how could I decline to Subscribe the Thing which I was free to declare so solemnly, if it were not that I was not sincere in my Declarations, and was minded to refuse from them*, and so I was out-argued and over-perswaded into the Subscription of that Paper: But before I would do it, I extended my Voice, and told the *Auditory*, I had one thing to say to them, *and that was, to Protest Solemnly, which I repeated several Times, That by my Subscribing that Paper in these Terms of owning Authority, and disowning that Declaration, IF SO BE, it declared so, I might not be thought to do it in any other Sense, than what I had declared; and I Protested particularly, that I might not be thought to justify the Act of Succession, nor the Abrogation of Ancient Laws about it, nor the want of Security for Religion and Liberty: nor to acknowledge the Divine Approbation of it*. At the hearing of which, some bad me be silent, some raged, some said *I should not Subscribe it, and that they would admit of no Protestations*. Where, upon I throw down the Pen, after I had taken it, and resolved not to do it: But when the Lords were all speaking amongst themselves, and there was such a noise that nothing could be heard, the *Advocates* came about me; and buzzed in my Ear, and said *Subscribe, Subscribe, for it is admitted; we all know what Sense you take it in well enough*, and so I did Subscribe it. Some Passages I have omitted in this Relation, through my Perplexity about the result of it; I several times offered to Speak to the *Jury*, but was interrupted; and after all was done, I expected to pass under their Cognition. But after they were called, and the *Advocate* Spoke to them, in the End he told them, *That as for me, I was to be delayed till to Morrow*, which Morrow is not come yet. Now when some of my dear Brethren are Executed, to whose lot I should have submitted, not only with Patience, but with Complacency, if so it had pleased the Holy Determiner of all Things, who yet hath appointed me some more weary Weeks in this House of my weeping Pilgrimage.





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